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The Nation.

May 17, 1986 $1.25; U.K. 65p

EDITORIAL

A NEW LOW IN SUMMITRY

For the first time in a dozen years of economic summitry each of the seven participating nations is ruled by a government or coalition of the right. No Schmidt, no Trudeau, no Callaghan, not even a Carter, was on hand in Tokyo to raise a whisper against the roar of neo- and paleo-conservative polemics. Lame duck Mitterrand never rose to assert traditional French independence, and Italy's Craxi proved once again that a Eurosocialist is no more imaginative than the Eurocapitalist government that pays his salary. In such a setting it is no wonder that the American delegation turned the proceedings into a raucous cheering session for Reaganism.

This Western economic summit was not Western or economic or truly a summit. The Pacific venue dramatized Japan's role as not only the strongest economic power in the East but the leading creditor nation for the West. As for economics, the important issues of trade surpluses and deficits, the continuing U.S. budget crisis and widespread unemployment in the West were largely ignored. And far from being a summit of equals, the three-day conference was dominated by the imperial will and political agenda of one participant.

The historical precursors of these summits are the economic and geopolitical conferences of the 1940s, when the Allied powers drew up blueprints for economic domination of the postwar world order. The present line of meetings, going back to 1975, have never produced political decisions of any great moment. But occasionally they provided useful forums on important trade and monetary issues.

Not this time: the only discernible result was the promotion of Reagan's dead-end politics of terrorism, the projection of a predictable anti-Sovietism and a further postponement of the resolution of dangerous economic conflicts.

WALDHEIM'S NAZI THESIS
Mark Wurm

INSURANCE 'CRISIS' AND THE PRESS
Robert Sherrill

THE TROUBLE WITH FULL EMPLOYMENT
Fred Block
Richard A. Cloward
Barbara Ehrenreich
Frances Fox Piven

MOBILIZING COMMUNITIES
Harry C. Boyte

YOU CAN TAKE CITY HALL
Derek Shearer

IMPRISONED BLACK RAGE

THE LYNCHING OF VINSON HARRIS

EDWARD BUNKER

The initial tremor along the grapevine was of a killing on one of the buses the Federal Bureau of Prisons uses to move convicts around the country. I thought a friend of mine, just railroaded for thirty years, the scapegoat in a conspiracy to smuggle drugs to convicts in the U.S. Penitentiary in Terre Haute, Indiana, had killed the lying informer. I knew it could happen on a prison bus. I once saw a man strangled to death with chains while the guards screamed futilely through the wire mesh partitions. It isn't the kind of murder one gets away with, but a 50-year-old man with a fresh thirty-year sentence might not care about getting caught.

Then the friend sent a letter saying he had seen guards murder a black man on the bus, so I took a civilian bus to Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, to get the story. I was allowed to visit him, but I was not allowed to take notes or bring in a tape recorder. Here is the tale he recounted.

On Tuesday, March 4, the Federal prison bus that runs between the Federal Correctional Institution in Talladega, Alabama, and the Butner F.C.I., outside Raleigh, North Carolina, stopped at the Mecklenburg County Jail to pick up six prisoners, three for delivery to Butner, the others en route to institutions along the Eastern Seaboard. The bus was guarded by two officers, one black, one white, who wore no nameplates on their chests. They were under the supervision of Lieut. Gerry Dale. Also riding that bus was a Lieutenant Stone, who was being trained to take over Dale's duties. Stone was essentially an observer to what happened that day.

Among the prisoners, nearly all of whom were

(*Continued on Page 697*)

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LETTERS.

LAY OFF CHOMSKY

Englewood, N.J.

How disconcerting to find film critics joining theater critics in the new sport of Chomsky-bashing! Anson Rabinbach, in his review of *Shoah* ["Films," March 15], writes, "It challenges the no-Holocaust kooks like Robert Faurisson (whom only the French and Noam Chomsky take seriously anyway)." Rabinbach's snipe is either disingenuous or downright misinformed. Chomsky has made clear his view of the Faurisson affair many times—even in *The Nation*, in a February 28, 1981, article titled, significantly, "His Right To Say It." For Chomsky the issue is not the Holocaust, which he takes seriously indeed. Rather, he has defended Faurisson's right to free expression and academic freedom. Rabinbach has the right to disagree with Chomsky but not to defame him. He owes *The Nation*'s readers an apology.

Carol Pasternak Kaplan

NOT A 'NO-HOLOCAUST KOOK'

Williamstown, Mass.

The Nation's editors should know better than to allow the repetition of a calumny that has become commonplace among neoconservative publicists. Noam Chomsky did not defend Robert Faurisson's "no-Holocaust" notions as valid or truthful. He defended Faurisson's right to hold those views. One may or may not advocate Marcusean limits to free speech but, in any case, Chomsky's position is civil-liberties doctrine at its purest—and only that. In addition, French law forbids the dissemination of anti-Semitic propaganda: that's how seriously the French take the "no-Holocaust" crackpots.

A casual reference like Rabinbach's only adds to the spiraling obfuscation of our times. The result? Now there are a few more readers out there who believe that Noam Chomsky is just another one of those "no-Holocaust kooks." *Gene H. Bell-Villada*

RABINBACH REPLIES

Upper Montclair, N.J.

Noam Chomsky's vigilant advocates are misinformed if they believe he merely defended Robert Faurisson's civil liberties. Unfortunately, he did more than that. He also attested to the integrity of Faurisson's motives in a preface to a volume of Faurisson's writings, which Chomsky apparently did not intend for publication, although he has said that its inclusion was "not contrary to my instructions." Let me quote the relevant passage from the February 28, 1981, *Nation* article:

> One can ask whether Faurisson is truly an anti-Semite or a Nazi. As I have said, I do not know his work very well. But from what I have read, in large part because of the nature of the attacks made against him, I do not see any proof that would lead to such conclusions. I find no credible proof in the documents, published text, or private correspondence, that I have read concerning him. As far as I can judge, Faurisson is a relatively apolitical liberal.

Chomsky has reiterated that he does not share or endorse Faurisson's contention that the gas chambers and the murder of the Jews are "a historical lie." But he did not simply defend his right to say it. The point of the entire controversy—which was hardly the subject of my review—is that he has gone further: "Suppose that Faurisson did refer to the Holocaust as a 'Zionist lie,'" Chomsky wrote in *The Village Voice* for July 1-7, 1981. "Does this prove that he is an anti-Semite? Is it anti-Semitic to speak of Zionist lies?" To say that Zionists have lied is not ipso facto anti-Semitic. But, as Chomsky knows, Faurisson claims that Jews share responsibility with Germans for World War II, and that "Hitler never ordered or allowed anybody to be put to death for reasons of race or religion." Chomsky is certainly correct that "one who defends the right of free expression incurs no special responsibility to study or even be acquainted with the views expressed." To judge whether someone is anti-Semitic does. Faurisson's systematic effort to deny that Nazis purposefully exterminated Jews *is* anti-Semitism. And *Shoah* is refutation enough. *Anson Rabinbach*

'WHO IS NORMAN PODHORETZ?'

San Diego

I am intrigued by Elizabeth M. Cuthbertson's desire to reserve *The Nation*'s "Letters" column for "ordinary readers" ["Letters," March 15]. When I introduce *The Nation* to friends I usually point out, as an example of its special quality, the "Letters" column, reserved for the critical comments of those with detailed knowledge or intimate involvement in the matters under discussion and the author's rebuttal, printed on the same page. I have often had to reconsider my initial response to an article after reading a subsequent "Letters" column, and sometimes to reconsider again on reading the author's reply to his or her critics. This is an extraordinary and valuable feature of the magazine.

The Nation, unlike *Time* or *Newsweek*, disdains taking the pulse of its readership in the "Letters" column, and I applaud the result.

On the other hand, I sometimes share Cuthbertson's frustration when my point of view seems unrepresented or misconstrued in the magazine's pages. Occasionally an author will let slip his or her conception of the average reader of *The Nation*, and I find, with bemused embarrassment, that the editors invariably assume the readers to be far more widely read and better informed than I am. Sometimes the authors seem to belong to an ingrown literary group that assumes its affairs are as interesting and as well known to the rest of us as to themselves. The tempests around Alexander Cockburn are certainly one example; the furor over the PEN congress is another. Then there is the man with the funny name who is always trotted out with vitriolic condescension as an example of pompous wrongheadedness. Who is Norman Podhoretz to me, or I to Norman Podhoretz, that I should weep over him?

I am a clerical worker of indifferent college education who conscientiously tries to read and understand at least one or two of the major articles in each week's *Nation* so as to be better informed about what is happening in the world around me. I don't want the "Letters" column filled with the opinions of people no better informed than myself, nor do I really mind when you talk over my head. Forge on; I'll scramble to keep up with you somehow! It's just that I suspect that I'm not alone. There are more of me out here than you think, and now and again *The Nation* and its writers need to be aware of whom they are addressing.

Sandra Dutky

COCKBURN AN OLD MEANIE?

Boston

Alexander Cockburn, for once you are wrong! Your readers never thought you were aged because of your "prose." Rather, most of us assumed that it would take at least sixty or seventy years for a human being to accumulate such stores of nastiness. How you have managed to corner the market at such an early age would certainly make for a best seller in the rattlesnake community. Here's to a long and venomous life.

Thom Thacker

COCKBURN REPLIES

New York City

This proves it always pays to lie about your age. *Alexander Cockburn*

AUTHOR'S QUERY

The author of a book on the for-profit hospital industry seeks information from doctors and hospital administrators with experience working in hospitals owned or run by for-profit hospital corporations. Confidentiality respected. *Dave Lindorff*
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EDITORIALS.

Clockwork Apple

Major malfunctions are as much a part of technological systems as are normal operating procedures. The Chernobyl fire, the repeated failures of NASA and Air Force rockets, the ghastly inaccuracy of those F-111s that made it as far as Libya (and back to their bases) are only the latest examples of worldly imperfection that began with the well-documented disaster of the snake and the apple. To ignore the inevitability of breakdown is to allow machinery to shape human political response, to give technology priority over social policy. Governments, scientists and bureaucratic managers may think they have mastered the linked technologies of space, weaponry and nuclear power, but to some degree we are all servants of those forces, quite beyond anyone's ability to fashion them into useful tools.

The U.S. space program is literally out of this world in the way it squanders billions, diverts resources and attention from essential priorities and endangers life and safety with reckless abandon. The sheer thrust and throw weight of the

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program assures its continuing expansion. It gets everything it demands: plutonium payloads, warfighting capabilities, an entire corporate and educational infrastructure, fawning media and an entrenched political support system. Its regular spectacular failures seem to be features specifically designed to remind its fabricators of their fallibility and to convince them to pour ever more energy into the program. Every glitch becomes a seductive serpent that makes the clockwork apple at once more appealing and unattainable.

In the same way, nuclear technology has an existence of its own that confers power over policy, rather than the other way around. The manufacture of steam by bombarding atomic nuclei with neutrons is so inherently dangerous that sane leaders should be expected to seek every possible alternative before committing their countries to such a course. But with each new nuclear horror, the servants of the system rededicate themselves to remedial action, to refinements, improvements, substitutions of material, training programs, elaborate evacuation schemes and the elusive search for security. In the same breath that the Russians announced the Chernobyl accident, they reiterated the absolute necessity of maintaining their nuclear energy program. Their Western counterparts eagerly agreed.

The state of the art of weaponry has always determined the nature of warfare, but as the technology of destruction has advanced, so has its ability to direct the debate about the possibility of war itself. Arms control and disarmament policy has become a subset of weapons-development policy.

The spirit of the people may be greater than the man's technology, in Huey Newton's archaic epigram, but these days the spirit is often in short supply and the technology is out of control. Certainly there is no other power that can challenge the machinery that would be our masters. And a few more glitches like the ones of recent weeks could make us subservient forever.

David Acker

David Acker, who died May 1 at the age of 32, set the type for many of the articles and advertisements that have appeared in *The Nation* since 1982. He sat at a computer keyboard in a cramped carrel amid boxes of back issues, production equipment and ambiguous flotsam of the journalistic enterprise. If there is a center stage of the magazine, where writers and editors perform their craft for the subscribing audience, David was behind the scenes, with the copy readers, designers, business managers, secretaries, interns and others who work each week to make the magazine appear. His death diminishes our effort, because at best *The Nation* is a family affair that needs the support and participation of good people to give meaning to the work, to challenge the isolating pressures of a nasty world and simply to hold out hope in a dispiriting time. In the saddest sense we have suffered a death in the family.

The Nation was David's job; his passion was painting, and he had begun to receive the admiration and recognition that his fresh, warm, clear works deserved [see page 707]. Certainly there was a disparity between his workaday world and his creative ambition—"between the longing for love and the struggle for the legal tender," in the words of the Jackson Browne song—but there was an interplay as well. David gave us a taste of the clarity and affirmation he put into his art, and he found here a sense of social concern and personal commitment that was very much a part of his vision. A few weeks before his death he joked to a friend, a former *Nation* editor, that he might make the best of both worlds by titling one of his shimmering California landscapes "The Battle of Algiers," or a painting of sailboats in a sunny harbor "Save the Whales." His gentle, mischievous good humor was part of our lives for too short a time, and as friends as well as a magazine, we will miss him.

Waldheim's Thesis

Kurt Waldheim, the self-styled "decent soldier" who merely did his duty while serving in the German Army in World War II, won 49.6 percent of the vote in Austria's presidential election on May 4 and is favored to win a runoff next month. But evidence continues to emerge that what Waldheim conceived to be his duty at the time was far different from the way he later portrayed it.

In his now-discredited memoirs, *The Challenge of Peace* and *In the Eye of the Storm*, Waldheim asserts that after he was "discharged" in 1941, he resumed his legal studies. He proudly states that he completed his doctoral dissertation in law on "the federalist principles of the German diplomat Konstantin Frantz."

That description, like so much else in Waldheim's account of his life, is misleading. Frantz, who lived from 1817 to 1891, was no diplomat; he served for only a few years as a minor consular official in Spain. For most of his life he was a political polemicist. A UNESCO report on the theoretical origins of Nazism, published in 1955, said that the vitriolically anti-Semitic writings of Frantz anticipated Nazi ideology. Frantz's "federalist principles" were also not federalism as James Madison understood it. According to Waldheim's thesis, titled "The Idea of the Reich":

> [Germany's] calling is federalism in the form of a . . . Reich. . . . only in the idea of the Reich as a concept encompassing state and society can there be found the upward development of Germany. . . . The concept of Reich corresponds to the innate drives of the German nation.

Applying Frantz's thoughts to the Germany of the Third Reich, Waldheim concluded:

> The deepest understanding [of Frantz] with respect to the German problem lies in the striving for . . . the unification of all Germanic groups into a single, great Reich to serve as the nucleus of a united Europe. . . . [Frantz's] thinking has a vast importance because: Today, after overcoming so many . . . difficulties and obstacles, the idea of a unification of all Germanic groups has been realized—although in a more disciplined form [that is, National Socialism] . . . [and]

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> in consequence of the current great conflict of the Reich with the non-European world, in magnificent collaboration of all the peoples of Europe under the leadership of the Reich, the way is being prepared against the . . . danger from the east [Russia]. The realization of the [Reich concept] is the national calling of Germany. . . . Through the concept of the Reich these words . . . will be realized: Europe has fallen through Germany, but it is through Germany that it must be resurrected.

The Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles obtained a copy of the thesis from the University of Vienna Archives after an excerpt from it appeared in the right-wing West German newspaper *National-Zeitung*. Waldheim's topic was unusual for his time; most of his contemporaries wrote on technical legal questions rather than political theory. Beyond that, a proto-Nazi polemicist was a strange choice of subject for a man who claimed that his academic studies were a refuge from the army, where he supposedly sought out men who shared his anti-Nazi views.

Equally odd, the law faculty of the University of Vienna did not deposit the thesis in the archives until the early 1970s, when Waldheim became a candidate for U.N. Secretary General, although it was completed in 1944. In the years immediately following World War II, university faculties in Germany and Austria frequently suppressed dissertations they believed to be Nazi-influenced and did not file them in university libraries. Given Waldheim's advocacy of the Reich, it is possible, although it cannot yet be proved, that this was the case with his work. MARK WURM

Mark Wurm, an attorney, is special consultant on German affairs to the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles.

Afghan Outlook

The prospects for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and the return home of 2 million to 3 million Afghan refugees now in Pakistan look brighter than at any time since the Soviet invasion of December 1979. The reason for this optimism is that despite the current exchange of insults between Washington and Moscow, neither superpower wants to jeopardize one of the few positive achievements of last November's summit conference. (On April 22, Secretary of State George Shultz announced that planned U.S.-Soviet talks on regional conflicts, including the one in Afghanistan, would resume shortly in Washington.)

In Geneva, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev told President Reagan that the Kremlin was ready to call home its troops in return for American guarantees against outside interference in Afghanistan. The Russians accused the C.I.A. of waging a proxy war by backing the rebel forces. If the flow of covert military aid to the insurgents from the United States, Pakistan, China, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Israel and other countries was to cease, Gorbachev argued, the regime of then-President Babrak Karmal would no longer require the protection of Soviet troops.

The United States and its allies doubt that political and armed resistance to the regime in Kabul would stop if outside aid was cut off, but they have agreed to give the U.N.-sponsored peace process a chance. U.N. mediator Diego Cordovez, who has been shuttling between Kabul and Islamabad, Pakistan, said last month that the Afghan government had given him a timetable for the troop withdrawal conditional on U.S. guarantees of nonintervention. The plan reportedly calls for a four-stage Soviet pullout over twelve months. Pakistan wants the time period shortened, and Foreign Minister Yaqub Khan informed Cordovez that he would not agree to meet with his Afghan counterpart, Shah Mohammed Dost, until a firm schedule had been worked out.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union is suggesting that conditions in Afghanistan will improve once an accord is reached. An article in the April 27 issue of *Pravda* acknowledged that major reforms were needed in the country. On May 4, Karmal, who had not appeared in public since he went to Moscow for medical treatment on March 30, was replaced by former chief of secret police Najibullah. Western diplomats said the switch was made partly to install a leader not identified with the Soviet invasion. To insure that they bargain from a position of strength, the Russians intensified their attacks on guerrilla bases near the Pakistani border last month, causing heavy casualties.

A number of external and internal forces are propelling Gen. Zia ul-Haq's regime toward a rapprochement with

I.N.S. WATCH

On May 2, Guatemalan President Vinicio Cerezo Arévalo pledged to investigate the disappearance of thousands of Guatemalans, an overdue response to demands by the courageous Mutual Support Group (G.A.M.). Representing about 1,300 family members of Guatemala's estimated 38,000 disappeared, G.A.M. was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize.

Last month, Nineth García, the group's president and the widow of a murdered labor leader, traveled to the United States to build support for G.A.M. In Chicago, her first stop, she was to speak to church, peace and Hispanic groups. Mayor Harold Washington was to present her with the key to the city.

But on April 25, while the Mayor and other banquet guests waited for García, Immigration and Naturalization Service agents at O'Hare International Airport detained and interrogated her for several hours. Agents called her a communist and accused her of spreading terrorism. When she was finally released to friends an I.N.S. officer told them, "We only process Latinos like this."

The next day Nineth García left for Guatemala, where her life is in greater danger than ever. According to Frank Klein of the Comite Latino, Chicago activists are writing letters to press President Cerezo to guarantee García's safety.

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Kabul. Following the Soviet invasion, the Reagan Administration dramatically increased aid to Pakistan, and Zia expected that U.S. support would help him consolidate his power. Instead, the protracted conflict in Afghanistan threatens to undermine his already unpopular government. The tumultuous reception accorded Benazir Bhutto, acting chair of the Pakistan People's Party, when she returned from exile on April 10 apparently convinced Zia that an agreement with Afghanistan and its Soviet masters would do more to bolster his regime than continued dependence on Washington.

All these developments have provided impetus for the seventh round of U.N.-sponsored talks on Afghanistan, which began in Geneva on May 5. NASIM AHMED

Nasim Ahmed was Federal Secretary of Information and chair of the Pakistan Television and Broadcasting Corporation during the presidency of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

UNCIVIL LIBERTIES.

CALVIN TRILLIN

All right, parents, those of you who have ever secretly opened mail addressed to any of your children, please raise your hands. Yes, I'm talking about mail such as letters from college admissions offices. Yes, I'm talking about mail such as the letter to your daughter that looked as if it might have come from the boy you banned from the house after you found out that he was the recording secretary of the local outlaw motorcycle gang—that envelope that seemed to have axle grease smudges in the corner and showed indications of having been addressed by someone who thinks the word "street" begins with a *c*.

Is your hand up there, sir—you in the back row? Sir? I was asking if your hand is up or if, for reasons we needn't go into right now if you'd rather not, you happen to be trying to scratch the inside of your left ear lobe with your right hand.

I'm still having a little trouble getting an accurate count here. The red-haired woman in the corner may be putting her hand up part way or she may be doing her imitation of a Canada goose who has lost the use of one wing. Let's be open with each other, folks.

What was that, sir? Yes, the gentleman in the front row. No need to mumble. We can be open with each other here, sir. If you suspect that you might have behaved like a rather brutish and highhanded parent and you seek the company of other rather brutish and highhanded parents, I'd like to assure you that you've come to the right place. Whisper in my ear? Well, sir, if you insist. What was that? "Does it count if the envelope falls open in your hand?"

Could we please have some comment on that from the group? I'd like to hear what you think about this. As I understand what this gentleman is saying, he happened to go through the mail before his son arrived home from high school, he picked up a letter addressed to his son by a firm called Hideously Noisy Rock Music Equipment, Inc., the envelope fell open in his hand, and the letter unfolded itself to reveal that his son had used the computer-programming school tuition money for a down payment on a $30,000 synthesizer and had signed a waiver releasing the sellers from any responsibility if the synthesizer in its salsa mode caused any structural damage to the house.

All right, does everyone here find that plausible—that business about the envelope falling open in his hand? Oh, everyone does. Well, O.K. Fine. Oh, yes, one question from the woman in the corner. In case you couldn't hear that, sir, she would like to know if you spoke to your son about the synthesizer, or perhaps even chastised him.

Oh, I see. Yes. Well, then. Perhaps someone near the back of the room there could dial 911 and say that there's a man here who would like to turn himself in for a major felony.

If we can just move ahead, I'd like to bring up the big-envelope/small-envelope question as it relates to college admission letters. As many of you know, there's a theory that a large, fat envelope is an acceptance, because it obviously contains various forms and announcements needed by a prospective freshman, that a small envelope is likely to be a rejection—and that there is therefore no reason for a parent to open the envelope. Does everyone agree with that? Oh.

What was that, madam? Well, that's an interesting theory. What you're saying, as I understand it, is that some colleges, just as a little joke, might send someone a large, fat envelope that turns out to hold a one-page rejection letter and a lot of old newspapers stuffed in there to make you think you've been sent dormitory forms and the calendar for the fall semester.

Well, how may people find that plausible? How many of you believe that a major American educational institution is likely to stuff its rejection-letter envelopes with old newspapers just to torment the parents of students who apply? Oh, I see: all of you, even the gentleman who had the envelope from the synthesizer company fall open as he held it. You needn't hold up two hands, sir. Oh, I see. The handcuffs. Of course.

So if we can just move on to methods. I assume that everyone here carefully steams open the envelope and then reseals it with glue. No? You what? Well, I must say, sir, that strikes me as rather brutish and highhanded. I can't believe anyone else would do that sort of thing, but let's get a count. How many here simply rip open the envelope and then claim that the dog got at it?

The gentleman in the second row: sir, are you raising your hand in a rather tentative way or do you have a nasty sprain that requires you to keep your elbow above the hairline at all times? I'm having a little trouble getting an accurate count. Up or down. Let's be open with each other, folks.

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MINORITY REPORT.

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

"Supply-sider" is one of those terms that, like a captured banner, has made the transition from abusive description to proud and defiant claim. Like "Tory," "suffragette," "dove" and "Impressionist," it has been taken from the mouth of its foes and converted into a self-definition. This is not the least, or the only, propaganda advantage it possesses. As an idea its chief recommendation is that it is so old, and so long discredited, that it can now be packaged as new. Remove crippling tax burdens and let free enterprise rip! A rising tide lifts all boats! One expects hourly to read of an "invisible hand" school, which will burst on conventional economists with all the force of revelation employed by that ancient "neo" Adam Smith.

I am impatient to see the reply of the supply-siders to a little-noticed report by Citizens for Tax Justice, which tracked the performance of corporations as they basked in Reaganite fiscal forbearance. C.T.J. (1313 L Street N.W., Washington, DC 20005) found that there was an inverse relation between companies maximizing tax breaks and companies making new investments in plants and employment.

Between 1981, when Reaganism took the glove off the invisible hand, and 1984, some forty-four companies at the top of the league, which among them shared $2.1 billion of tax rebate money, declared $53.6 billion in pre-tax domestic profits and paid no tax at all. They received not so much a tax holiday as an outright subsidy from taxpayers. Over the same period, these same forty-four companies reduced their aggregate capital spending by 4 percent and their labor forces by 6 percent. That average is misleading for several important cases. For example, Boeing paid no taxes, cut its capital spending by 38 percent and reduced its payroll by 18 percent. Dow Chemical let its investment decline by 34 percent and its work force by 13 percent. Equivalent figures for I.T.T. were 30 percent and 25 percent.

This contrasts, to say the least, with the boastful predictions made in 1981 by David Stockman's Office of Management and Budget, and by the United States Chamber of Commerce. Stockman, we always knew, was fantasizing—we hardly needed his self-important confirmation of the fact—but the Chamber of Commerce people and the host of supply-side propagandists seem at least to have believed their own line. They promised a rise in business investment of 11 percent per annum, adjusted for inflation, from 1981 through 1986. The truth is that where investment has risen, it has been among companies that consider themselves taxpayers. The ones that took the breaks did only that. So that such investment increase as there has been is not attributable to the supply-side nostrum.

Where, as a matter of curiosity, did the money go? The same forty-four top corporations that cut investment and laid off workers were awash in new cash flow. They responded by raising dividends 22 percent and by throwing money at their chief executive officers. A random sample taken by *Business Week* from the same cluster of tax-break companies found C.E.O. salaries up by an average of 54 percent. Perhaps we will now be told to wait for the trickle-down from the lavish expenditures that will result from this handout. And yet the cheerleaders for the original stratagem deny that they are Keynesians.

* * *

I can't remember any excuse as fantastic as the one given by a Soviet official to ABC-TV on April 30. Asked why his government had not alerted other European capitals to the danger that was drifting their way from Chernobyl, he blandly replied that it was the weekend and they imagined that Western government offices would be shut. Yet Soviet propaganda usually refers to NATO as sleepless. Truly, as Einstein remarked, nuclear energy has changed everything except the way we think.

There was a certain doltish complacency, though, in the way we were assured that an "open society" differs from a closed one in this respect. I know of two cases of potential and actual nuclear irradiation that were visited on unsuspecting peoples by NATO governments. Both cases occurred in 1956, and both took several decades rather than several days to become known.

The first incident involved the U.S. nuclear base at Lakenheath, England (one of four from which F-111 aircraft were recently dispatched to teach the Libyans something or other). In the summer of 1956 a B-47 Stratojet, practicing a "roller" landing, lost control and crashed into the nuclear weapons store at the end of the runway. According to the official account, "the ensuing fire enveloped a storage igloo containing several nuclear weapons in storage configuration." The American commanders evacuated the base but, no doubt wishing to avoid panic, did not notify the inhabitants of the neighboring villages. U.S. Air Force officers who gave testimony later said that while the bombs themselves might not have exploded, they feared a massive release of plutonium, which would have created "a desert" in the eastern counties of England. None of these details became public until they were made known in an Omaha newspaper in 1979 and confirmed by the Pentagon.

Also in 1956, the British government was testing its hydrogen weapons in the Monte Bello Islands off Australia. A series of blunders, involving miscalculations of wind and underestimates of yield, led to a now-famous communication. On June 19, 1956, Sir Arthur Fadden, acting Prime Minister of Australia, sent an urgent signal to British Prime Minister Anthony Eden. "What the bloody hell is going on?" read the message. "The cloud is drifting over the mainland." Again, it took some dedicated reporters more than a quarter-century to dig up this story. And unprotected servicemen from that test are still dying of cancer, as did many uncared-for Australian aborigines. There used to be a slogan in the socialist movement, "Internationalism is in our blood." The consequences of nuclear nationalism are in our blood and no mistake—and in the cells and bone marrow of our children too. The notion of "internal affairs" has become prehistoric.

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ARTICLES.

THE INSURANCE 'CRISIS' STORY

One Paper That Wouldn't Shut Up

ROBERT SHERRILL

Press coverage of the "insurance crisis," or "civil liability crisis" or whatever you want to call it, is a mess. Reporters and editors seem perfectly happy to settle for two types of coverage: anecdotes and hysteria.

They love anecdotes about judgments such as the nearly one million bucks given the woman who claimed she lost her psychic powers in a CAT scan. Or the $1.5 million awarded the families of three fishermen lost in a storm the National Weather Service failed to forecast. That's one of President Reagan's favorites. (Actually it wasn't such a far-out judgment; the Weather Service had been knowingly using faulty equipment for months.) The idea in these stories is to convey the notion—which is exactly what the insurance industry wants the press to convey—that juries everywhere have become gullible and insanely generous and must be sat on.

The hysteria stories are built around a long and growing list of businesses that can no longer afford liability insurance because the rates have been jacked up by as much as 1,000 percent in the past couple of years. There is basis for the hysteria, but the press almost never demands that the insurance industry supply concrete data to justify the new rates.

Why don't reporters ask the insurance companies how much they have had to pay out in liability lawsuits at ski resorts? How often have day-care centers been sued for damages, and lost? How much have they had to pay out to tourists who were mauled by grizzlies in Yellowstone? How much have they had to pay out to toddlers who fell off the slides in city parks?

If reporters had taken those questions to the insurance industry, demanding an itemized rundown of its premium income and lawsuit losses in the various businesses, they would have had to write an entirely different kind of story—about a magnificent cover-up. The industry simply won't give out the data.

Ralph Nader, in a rare understatement, calls this crisis

> the greatest commercial hoax that I have ever observed in the United States, both in terms of its size—tens of billions of dollars—and in terms of its manufactured figures and phony anecdotes. Any industry that wants to say there is a crisis has got to provide evidence backing it up. And for ten months now I have challenged the insurance industry to tell us how much they are paying out in verdicts and settlements from year to year and break it down by commercial line—like malpractice and day-care centers and fishing boat operators. And they haven't done it.

Nader isn't the only one being stonewalled. Robert Hunter, the former Federal insurance commissioner who is now with the National Insurance Consumer Organization, is another. He says:

> The only data that's ever been done on jury verdicts—studies in Cook County and San Francisco—shows that the number of cases filed has stayed constant and the median verdict has stayed flat in 1979 dollars, at under $20,000, for the past twenty-five years. That's the data we have. Now, if the insurance companies have data that shows the contrary, if they have data that shows juries are running wild with their awards, why don't the companies come forward with it? Don't they have the burden of proof if they want to take away our rights? The insurance companies simply refuse to put forth the data to let us analyze it. We've been asking since last September, Where's the data?

Hunter isn't quite accurate in all that. There is one other study he could have cited to the same point. In Dade County, Florida, Judge Gerald T. Wetherington, chair of the Tort Litigation Review Commission, analyzed every case filed there in the past five years. He found that the total number of negligence cases has increased by only 14 percent during that period—far below the growth in population—and that two-thirds of the awards were for less than $25,000.

Where is the litigation "explosion" the insurance industry talks about? Where is the flood of outrageously generous verdicts? Insurance salesmen simply refuse to give answers; and to most of the press this drought of information and the reasonable implications—that politicians should get busy regulating premiums, not juries—seem unimportant.

Those rare reporters who aren't allergic to work sometimes uncover really socko stuff on their own. *Orlando Sentinel* reporters Rosemary Goudreau and Alex Beasley spent nine months plowing through 10,000 medical malpractice "claims" that insurance companies said they had had to deal with over the past decade and found that an incredible 40 percent were phony. Contrary to the insurance companies' assertions, they were not claims at all; they were simply records of telephone calls. "Nothing more than a patient asking for a better explanation, a doctor calling his insurance company to report a possible problem, or a lawyer asking for records," Goudreau and Beasley reported.

If lack of data doesn't bother most of the press, neither does questionable data. This first became evident when the asbestos scandal hit its peak, and Johns-Manville and other large asbestos manufacturers, having spent the previous half-century killing asbestos workers, began losing hundreds of lawsuits. By the early 1980s the typical victim was walking out of court with $600,000. At that rate Manville alone stood to lose billions of dollars by the time the last case was settled, so it took refuge in the Federal bankruptcy law to stop the outflow of money, and launched a public relations campaign attacking the tort system. Of course the insurance

Robert Sherrill writes frequently for The Nation.

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companies that were being stuck with a large share of the asbestos losses joined the campaign.

The objective was to portray the court system as being burdened to the breaking point by greedy lawyers and crazy juries. Quoted over and over again were three studies on asbestos litigation done between 1980 and 1983 by the Rand Corporation's Institute for Civil Justice. Indeed, no organization has been more industrious than Rand in laying a stick to our legal system. Of the forty or so research reports published by the Institute for Civil Justice in the past five years, a solid majority target the legal system's defects. The insurance industry has found some of the reports useful.

For example, the Insurance Information Institute bought a full-page advertisement in the September 16, 1985, issue of *The New Yorker*, deploring the slowness, costliness and unfairness of the civil justice system. "A 1984 Rand Corporation study of thousands of asbestos-related lawsuits shows how serious the crisis has become," the ad said. "Cases closed took an average of two years and eight months, with 11 percent taking six years. How much money went to asbestos victims? Only 37 percent of the expenses and compensation paid by defendants and insurers. The other 63 percent went to pay litigation costs."

Naturally the ad did not mention that more than half the litigation costs went to pay asbestos industry attorneys, whose objective was to block any compensation at all. Nor did it mention that the slowness was caused by the asbestos companies' insistence on litigating the same issues over and over—always losing—rather than offer a decent settlement out of court.

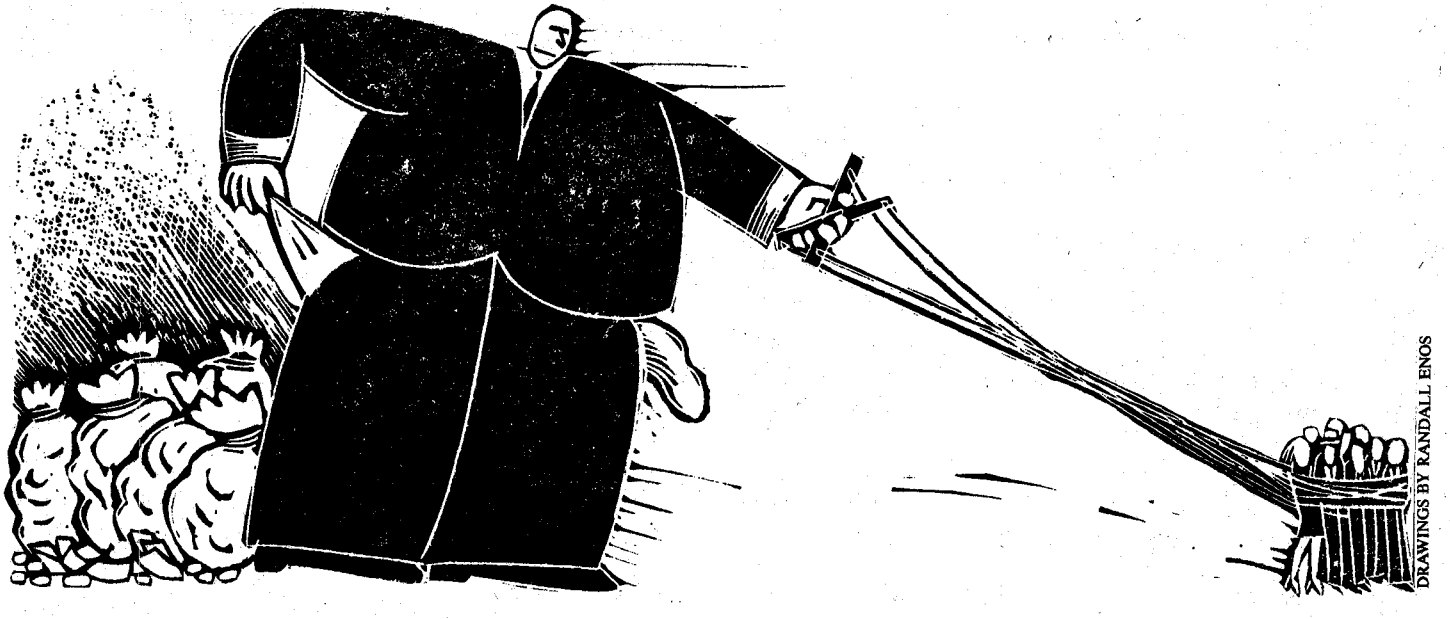
The Rand study quoted by the Insurance Information Institute was sent to every daily newspaper and to most legislators in America, and it was often quoted by them to the same point. *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, among others, cited from the Rand report to bolster editorials arguing that the tort system is a sloppy way to compensate asbestos victims (or consumer product victims or medical malpractice victims, etc.). "Trials produce long delays and haphazard results, and legal fees bite heavily into any settlement," *The Times* editorialized, echoing the Insurance Information Institute.

Were the Rand reports objective? Was there any evidence that they were being circulated on behalf of corporate interests? *The Times* and *The Post* did not question their objectivity. Nor, so far as I can discover, did any other newspaper—but one. Which brings us to a story from the boondocks.

The Charleston Gazette is, unfortunately, published in the depths of West Virginia, not in Washington or New York City. It is run by a publisher and two editors who, in the 1950s, would certainly have been hauled before the House Un-American Activities Committee and sent to prison for contempt.

A few months ago *The Gazette*'s publisher, Ned Chilton, was incensed by what he read in Paul Brodeur's *Outrageous Misconduct: The Asbestos Industry on Trial*. In that book, a compilation of articles that first appeared in *The New Yorker*, Brodeur mentioned that the Rand Corporation's reports on asbestos litigation were being used as propaganda by insurance companies and asbestos companies that supported Rand financially. But Brodeur mentioned no corporations by name. So Chilton told one of his reporters, Paul Nyden, to poke around. Nyden came up with a story that pointed out the following ties between Rand and corporations that stood to gain by weakening the existing tort system:

> —Corporate grants [to Rand] come from Travelers Insurance, Aetna Life and Casualty, CIGNA, Allstate Insurance and the Alliance of American Insurers. Travelers is Johns-Manville's primary insurer. Aetna and CIGNA have insured other asbestos manufacturers.
>
> —Rand's board of trustees includes William T. Coleman, a CIGNA director, and Newton N. Minow, Aetna's general counsel.
>
> —Charles J. Zwick, a Johns-Manville director, is also a Rand trustee.
>
> —John A. Love, another Johns-Manville director, is an honorary member of the Rand Institute for Civil Justice's board of overseers.



DRAWINGS BY RANDALL ENOS

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—W. Richard Goodwin, Johns-Manville president and chief executive officer from 1970 to 1976, is a former Rand trustee.

—Eight insurance executives are members, or honorary members, of the Institute's board, including Edward H. Buss, chairman of Travelers, William O. Bailey, president of Aetna, and Richard L. Mathias, president of the Property-Casualty Insurance Council.

—Chemical companies associated with Rand include E.I. du Pont de Nemours, a corporate contributor [to the Institute for Civil Justice], and FMC Corp. whose chairman and chief executive officer, Robert H. Malott, is on the institute's board.

Nyden's article recounted the history of the asbestos legal battles and Rand's part in supplying propaganda. The story was carried nationally by United Press International two days before the Sunday in which it was to appear in *The Gazette*.

Repercussions came immediately. Three times—beginning at 1:30 A.M. Saturday—Paul Weeks, Rand's public information director, telephoned *The Gazette*'s editor, Don Marsh, demanding that the story be killed and threatening to sue the newspaper for libel. Weeks made the same threats to U.P.I., which on Saturday notified its subscribers that Rand was "deeply concerned" about *The Gazette*'s conclusions and had accused the paper of "misinterpreting the findings of the study cited in the story."

Did other newspapers really take that as a warning of a libel suit and decide to duck, or did they seize it as simply a good excuse not to offend insurance companies? In any event, so far as U.P.I. officials are aware, only one other newspaper in the country carried their story about Rand's conflict of interest.

Undismayed by the threat of a lawsuit, *The Gazette* not only published the story on schedule but a few days later editorially drove home the point that "Rand's own records show that half the financial contributors, past and present, to the institute are insurance companies."

Then, acting on information from Syracuse University economist William Johnson, *The Gazette* reported that Rand had destroyed all the statistical data used for its three controversial studies about the costs of asbestos lawsuits. This story quoted a number of outraged social scientists and pollsters, including Richard Cloward, a professor of social work at Columbia University, who described Rand's action as "an absolutely unprecedented way to conduct research." Cloward accused Rand of "suppressing" the data: "They don't want it examined. Anyone can do a trumped-up study, then destroy the data. The highest ethic of scientific inquiry is to make your data available to other researchers." Alfred McClung Lee, a Drew University sociologist and past president of the American Sociological Association, was quoted as saying: "If Rand is going to use data for such a controversial purpose, they should save their data base. By destroying it, I think they're admitting something."

The Gazette's article on Rand's funny business was also carried on U.P.I.'s national wire. Again, apparently only one other daily newspaper in the country used it.

There's something screwy with the news business when that sort of thing happens. O.K., so maybe no other newspapers thought of questioning the objectivity of the Rand reports—a total mental blackout can sweep the news business, I suppose—but when one newspaper does do the questioning, and the results are piped into every major newsroom in the country, and virtually all of them ignore it, it seems pretty obvious that the guys who own the press are, to say the least, unduly sympathetic to the insurance companies.

Or maybe *The Gazette* is just that unique. Earlier this year Ralph Nader dropped by its offices for a Q. and A. session with *The Gazette*'s top brass, and all had a wonderful time bashing the insurance industry. The interview ran two full pages in *The Gazette*.

That prompted Grover E. Czech of Washington, regional vice president of the American Insurance Association, to fly over to Charleston and more or less demand equal time. He shouldn't have. Editorial director James A. Haught hit him with the first question: "The General Accounting Office says the liability insurance industry made $75 billion profit in the past decade and paid no income tax. And your stock values went up 50 percent last year. And net worth of the liability companies jumped about $7 billion. Your companies are gold mines. Why do you need tort reform?"

Czech began to hem and haw, and publisher Chilton cut in with: "Well, do you deny the G.A.O. charges? You paid no taxes and you made $75 billion in ten years. Now, either that's a true statement or it's a false statement. Is it false or true?"

Czech said, "Well, you have to put it in context," and he kept blathering like that for so long that editor Marsh, normally a very mild-mannered man, began yelling at him:

> I think the insurance industry is in a premeditated and deliberate campaign to cancel and coerce and force policyholders to pay at a rate that will guarantee that whatever money you don't have now, you will get. You guys never stop. You just keep coming on. You own a piece of the Rock, pretty soon you'll own the country and one day you'll own the world. Meanwhile, you say you can't insure the Eye and Ear Clinic. It has never had a suit but you can't insure it. You can't insure doctors and you can't insure public agencies. This has to be the only country in the world that would allow its essential services to be controlled by an incredibly rich industry.

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It's crazy what you are doing, what the insurance industry is doing and what the people are allowing to happen to them, saying we've got to protect Prudential and CIGNA. We can't let their stocks go down, we can't let their reserves go down. You're asking us as people to give up our rights to sue and look for justice. It's just an insane system. And one of these days everybody is going to suddenly realize it. At least I hope they will.

Czech tried to slow him down with an "I think your statement really begs the question," but Marsh wasn't putting up with that bullshit and kept charging on: "Let there be a federalized insurance system. Or at least let the Federal government regulate and do your accounting. You are the possessor of the figures. You're like the priest; only you have the secrets and we've got to take your word for it. Meanwhile, you tell us not to believe Ralph Nader or anyone else who criticizes you."

Why don't more newspaper editors talk to these guys like that? □

LETTER FROM EUROPE

Co-existentialism In France

DANIEL SINGER

Paris

Although Sartre may be out of fashion, political co-existentialism is the main subject of speculation in Paris. François Mitterrand is being described as if he were, to borrow Carlyle's quip, the president of the Heaven and Hell Amalgamation Society. But the word "coexistence," with its implication of conflicting systems, conveys the wrong impression. What is at stake here is the fitting of France into the Western pattern, the Parisian version of consensus politics. As there is no constitutional precedent for this match between a Socialist President and a conservative Assembly, or even clearly defined rules, assessment is not easy. Enough time, however, has elapsed since March 16, when the Socialist reign ended without a bang, to survey the scene and ponder the prospects.

Because the electoral swing to the right was expected, it was overshadowed by two events that presented more of a surprise. The first was the "respectable" right's attainment of only a narrow majority. To scrape together a majority of the National Assembly's 577 deputies, the 155 neo-Gaullist followers of Jacques Chirac and the 131 members of the Union for a French Democracy, partisans of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and Raymond Barre must rely on five independent conservatives. The second was the relatively good showing of the Socialists, who, with their center-left allies, captured 32 percent of the vote and 216 seats in the Assembly. The respectable right would have had a huge lead if it hadn't been

Daniel Singer is The Nation*'s correspondent in Europe.*

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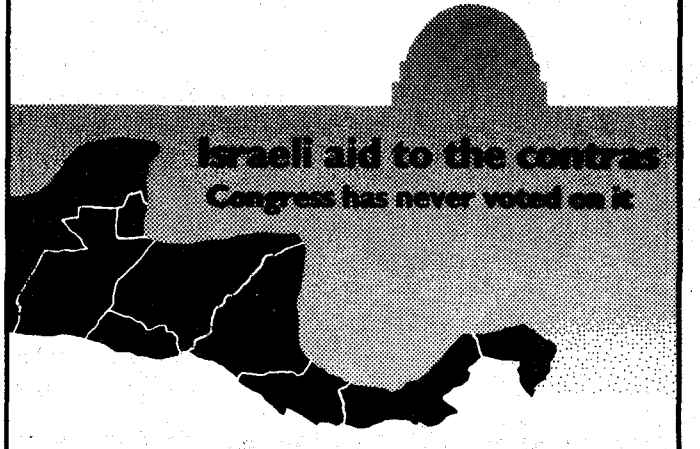

yet every time Congress has voted down contra aid, Israel has increased its involvement with the contras. Since the late 70s Israel's presence in Central America has followed the same seesaw pattern, supplying Guatemala, El Salvador, Somoza and his heirs, the contras, whatever the US denies.

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for the switch to proportional representation and if the neofascist National Front hadn't managed to get 10 percent of the vote. With thirty-four deputies, Jean-Marie Le Pen is now the star performer in the Palais Bourbon, the seat of the National Assembly. At the opposite end of the spectrum, the Socialists' good performance is attributable to the almost total disappearance of the Green and New Left candidates, whose followers deserted them rather than waste their votes, and to the further decline of the Communists, whose showing—10 percent of the vote and thirty-five deputies—was disastrous.

All this in no way affects the big shift in the balance of electoral power from left to right. In the parliamentary poll of 1981 the left defeated the right by 12 percent of the vote. Now the right has the same edge (55 percent to 43 percent). It could be argued that what matters after an election is the number of deputies in the Assembly, not the balance of electoral forces in the country. That argument, however, misses the peculiarity of the current French situation and the constraints this balance places on the veto powers of President Mitterrand.

The government of Jacques Chirac, deriving its strength from the majority the conservative alliance holds in the National Assembly, is supposed to carry out the normal executive functions—to run the country. Yet it is also supposed to cooperate with the President, who, himself elected through universal suffrage, is no figurehead. He signs international treaties, has his finger on the nuclear trigger and watches over the proper functioning of the institutions of government. About once a week he presides over the formal meetings of the Chirac government, and his signature is required for its bills to become law (whether and when he can refuse to sign is now a matter of dispute). Last but not least, the President can appeal directly to the people, either by dissolving the National Assembly and holding a snap election or by resigning and precipitating a presidential one. No wonder that among Chirac's first bills is a measure designed to abolish proportional representation in favor of the former majority system, which, assuming the present mood of the electorate continues, would result in a landslide for the right.

Against this backdrop the tactics of the protagonists are easier to see. Mitterrand's term ends in 1988. He must wait and see if the other side blunders by passing some unpopular measures. He must appear reasonable in dealing with the right's proposals though not so weak as to endorse without protest policies that run counter to his program. He must oppose judiciously, avoiding being forced to exercise his veto and thus trapped in a fight he would be certain to lose. So far, he has merely warned Chirac not to go too far and has expressed his misgivings for the record. Thus, he has accepted the idea of denationalizing enterprises taken over since 1981 but not those President de Gaulle took over after World War II.

Chirac is operating under the same time pressures. The new National Assembly, though elected for five years, will last at most two, until the next presidential poll. If a Socialist is elected, he will dissolve the Assembly, hoping to

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get a parliament that supports him. If a conservative wins, he will do the same, hoping to turn his present tiny majority into a thumping one. The presidential election dominates French politics in another way. Chirac has to reckon with allies who happen to be rivals in his own party. He has formed a government in which members of his own party hold key posts: Edouard Balladur is Minister of Economics, and the sinister Charles Pasqua is Minister of the Interior. But he is being closely watched by two conservative competitors who chose to stay outside the government. Giscard plays the part of a condescending elder statesman, awarding good and bad marks. Barre, who lost ground as a "splitter" opposed to coexistence with Mitterrand, acts as a loyal skeptic.

He and others have to be loyal; any defections would bring down the government. Chirac is thus helped, for the moment, by the very narrowness of his lead. He is also taking advantage of two articles of the Constitution. One states that the legislature may grant the prime minister special powers to act by decree in a specified field. Chirac is using the prerogative to denationalize industries as well as to change the electoral law. The second provision enables a bill to become law so long as it is not specifically rejected by the opposition. This is quite a weapon for enforcing party loyalty. It is one thing for a deputy occasionally not to vote with his party; it is quite another to vote against it, joining the opposition in a vote of censure.

With Mitterrand breathing down his neck and two "allies" scrutinizing his every step, with time pressing and pitfalls galore, Chirac must act quickly, though cautiously, or at least give the impression that he is a determined leader. The small devaluation of the franc that he pushed through and could easily blame on his predecessors is supposed to give the government some room to maneuver, while it is hoped that the drop in the value of the dollar and in oil prices will counteract the resulting inflationary pressures. To satisfy his supporters, Chirac parades as a champion of law and order and a scourge of immigrants. The powers of the police to harass aliens are being widened and its "blunders"—Chirac dixit—will be treated with understanding. Immigration from non-Common Market countries is to be restricted and the grounds for expulsion of foreigners extended. The respectable right may not yet openly court National Front deputies in parliament, but it is already wooing their supporters.

On nationalization the government is expected to act in two contrasting ways. Having acquired the authority to dismantle almost the entire public sector, it will proceed slowly, partly to avoid dumping too many shares of the state-owned companies on the market and partly to avoid charges that it is abandoning its Gaullist heritage. Things are moving much faster in other areas. Two out of the three existing public television channels are to be handed over to private enterprise. There are friends and backers to be rewarded; France is discovering the delights of the spoils system.

The class-based nature of the new administration will become even more apparent in the autumn, with the presentation of the budget, which will abolish the wealth tax and reduce the highest rates of income tax. But plans for dismantling the welfare state will have to wait until after the presidential election. *Rambo* may be a success in Paris, but direct attacks on social security are not yet considered politically profitable.

The contrast between the liberal views of Robert Badinter, Socialist Minister of Justice in the outgoing government, and the Agnew-like language of Chirac, between the Socialists who extended the public sector and the born-again free-traders who want to undo the work of half a century, tends to confirm the impression of a struggle between heaven and hell, between two radically hostile conceptions of society. The dividing line is much more blurred, as exemplified by the convergence of conservative and Socialist views on nationalization. When the left took office five years ago it regarded the nationalization of banking and of a large part of the industrial sector as an instrument of social change. A couple of years later it said that nationalized firms functioned as more efficient capitalist enterprises. Toward the end of their reign the Socialists themselves were ready to sell off part of the public sector. Now they do not criticize the program of denationalization in the name of justice or social planning; rather, they accuse the other side of being doctrinaire. Today it is the Socialists who parade as the pragmatists, while the right is criticized for acting on the basis of ideology instead of efficiency. The left and the right speak the same language.

What differences over policy that remain will be emphasized in the climate of permanent electioneering to which France has been condemned. Mitterrand and Chirac, the Socialist left and the respectable right, will be jockeying for position and combating each other with genuine passion. It is the same passion that Tories and Labor or even Republicans and Democrats would have displayed had circum-

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stances temporarily thrown them together in an unprecedented and loveless match. Although not Tweedledum and Tweedledee, they are partners in the same system, no longer proponents of contrasting societies. That is why François Mitterrand is being praised by some at home and abroad as France's great "normalizer," and cursed by others, including myself, for trying to reduce the French left to the political level of the United States. The odds are that the present strange period of co-existentialism will not even last two years. How long consensus politics will prevail is a more important question and one that is more difficult to answer. □

EXPAND THE SOCIAL PROGRAMS

The Trouble With Full Employment

FRED BLOCK, RICHARD A. CLOWARD, BARBARA EHRENREICH AND FRANCES FOX PIVEN

The left and the right seem finally to have converged on a common economic goal—full employment. Much of the left clings to this durable liberal objective, highlighted in *The Nation* recently by Michael Harrington [see "Progressive Economics for 1988," May 3]. Meanwhile, in a surprising shift, the right has appropriated the language of growth and full employment that had been the property of liberals for half a century. On the eve of his fifth State of the Union Message, Ronald Reagan, eerily echoing Hubert Humphrey, called for "full employment economically, from the sidewalks of Harlem to the shores of Hawaii."

There are, of course, huge differences between Reagan's vision of full employment and the left's. Most left-wing proposals include an increased minimum wage, improved health and safety standards and, as outlined in the *Economic Report of the People* by the Center for Popular Economics, the creation of jobs by the government to meet public needs. The right's approach to full employment is by now familiar: slash taxes on wealth, gut workplace safety regulations and cut government social spending to spur capital formation and investment which create jobs—tough, low-paying and otherwise undesirable jobs. The right's vision, as Nicholas von Hoffman puts it, is of a "Coolie America."

We have no quarrel with either the President's or the left's assumption that full employment, however defined, is more appealing than widespread unemployment. In a society that offers minimal assistance to the unemployed, any job is preferable to no job and the possibility of destitution. Furthermore, a tight labor market, however achieved, strengthens people's ability to organize and win higher wages and improved working conditions. But we do question the viability of full employment as the centerpiece of the left's economic program. As a slogan, it has been deeply compromised by both the rhetoric of the right and the economic reality the right has created. As a goal, it offers few strategic "handles" for grass-roots activism. And as a social ideal, it fails to express the values of the left and may even serve to reinforce the punitive ideology of the right.

The first and most obvious problem is that, thanks to the right's public relations coup in seizing the old liberal language of jobs and growth, the mere advocacy of full employment no longer distinguishes the left from the right. The programmatic emptiness of the language of full employment is highlighted in those left formulations that downplay the role of the public sector and hence seem to suggest that full employment can be achieved with minimal government involvement. "Full employment" has therefore become almost as unobjectionable and unenlightening a slogan as "prosperity." It has come to sound like a nice idea shared by everyone, rather than a distinctive cause to rally around.

A potentially more serious problem is that in emphasizing full employment the left ignores the cutting edge of economic reality in Reagan's America: there *are* jobs, but a diminishing proportion of them pay enough to support a middle-class life style or even a modest level of comfort and dignity. As a result of deindustrialization and a concerted capitalist attack on unions and wage levels, the growth areas of the economy are primarily those in which wages are low—the nonprofessional levels of health care and business services, clerical and sales work and food services. Barry Bluestone, Bennett Harrison, Emma Rothschild and other economists have repeatedly made the point that if the paradigmatic job of the waning industrial economy was that of a unionized steelworker earning a middle-class income, the paradigmatic job in today's service economy is that of a fast-food worker earning the minimum wage (which, on an annual basis, falls roughly $4,000 below the poverty level for a family of four).

In the face of this economic reality the left's emphasis on full employment perpetuates the outmoded assumption that the cause of poverty is unemployment and that its cure is more employment. Although that may be true for a recently laid-off machinist or middle manager, it is not true for the growing number of Americans—disproportionately women and members of minority groups—who work full time all year and still subsist below the poverty level. The rhetoric of full employment does not speak to the condition of people in America's low-wage work force who are already fully employed. For America's expanding pool of cheap labor, it would be more relevant to recall Jesse Jackson's observation that "black people had full employment under slavery."

Even a left-wing version of full employment that called

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for high-paying, desirable jobs would have a severe credibility problem. The typical leftist version envisions a well-paid working class, empowered chiefly by the absence of a reserve army of labor available to work at any price. The right's plan for full employment, on the other hand, entails a defeated working class, gladly accepting jobs at wages that will increasingly approach those of workers in the Third World. The right's version fits the common, and fatalistic, perception that the American working class is doomed to be dragged down by the ineluctable workings of the global economy. To defend its vision of full employment, the left would have to be able to explain how American workers would be so neatly exempted from the workings of the international labor market. Without such an explanation—or a refutation of the argument that international competition is indeed the greatest threat to American workers—the left's idea of full employment comes to look wistful and out of date. Even if jobs could be generated for every American worker, there remains the specter of an international reserve army of labor, hungry and desperate.

The emphasis on full employment is not only politically hollow; it also lends aid and comfort to the enemy. By emphasizing the right to a job rather than the right to a decent life, progressives are inadvertently lending legitimacy to the attack on the working class, and are undermining the legitimacy of the welfare state. There's more than just a touch of neoliberalism in the left's full-employment strategy. Socialists are beginning to talk down social programs and talk up the work ethic. It is, at the very least, unseemly for the left to celebrate workplace discipline in the context of an extremely exploitative economy. It is our responsibility to resist the imposition of such discipline, if only to temper the terms on which wage work is extracted.

Full-employment rhetoric does nothing to temper those terms. It sounds too much like the rhetoric conservatives use to attack recipients of Aid for Families with Dependent Children and to oppose adjusting benefit levels to keep up with the inflation rate. As a result, the real living standard of those recipients has dropped sharply. And it sounds too much like the arguments that are used to justify coercive workfare programs—supported by Democrats and Republicans alike—that force welfare recipients into an already overcrowded labor market.

Our alternative program and strategy centers on the defense and expansion of the American welfare state. The income support programs of the New Deal and the Great Society were momentous achievements, for they helped protect the weak from the strong in the marketplace. A government dominated solely by business interests will destroy those achievements. By abandoning the fight to preserve and enlarge the welfare state, the left is abandoning its heritage. And at a time when the industrial economy is crumbling, the left is also abandoning the millions of dislocated and impoverished people who need the protection of the welfare state.

While the term "welfare state" wins few popularity contests, the programs that the term denotes are popular, and with determined advocacy can become more so. Poll after poll shows strong and growing backing for even such supposedly unpopular programs as Aid for Families with Dependent Children, and there is considerable support for national health insurance, government-provided child care and expanded public aid to education, from elementary school through college and adult levels. The left needs to develop concrete proposals for strengthening the system of income supports and for broadening and improving the public-sector delivery of a variety of human services. We find it incredible, for example, that the left has not made a major issue of the way benefits for the unemployed have been slashed.

Arguing for an expanded welfare state allows us to confront directly the right's claim that the market by itself can adequately organize society. The left is on firmer political terrain here than it is on questions of how to manage the economy. That is because popular opinion is on our side. People have gone along with tax reductions for the rich and other strategies to enhance capital formation and

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investment, but they have resisted budget balancing at the expense of the social programs, as Reagan's failure to slash or eliminate them makes clear. For the moment, Americans want to have it both ways: they want market growth and state-sponsored protections from the market, even if the result is an unprecedented deficit. So far they have not been convinced that they must choose between market-created prosperity and public-sector guarantees of income security, Reagan's insistence that they must to the contrary. Indeed, public opinion polls reveal an interesting anomaly: Reagan's popularity and the popularity of the social programs have risen in tandem. The reason may be that Reagan did what he insisted could not be done. He produced an economic upturn even though in the main the social programs were not sacrificed.

Reagan may be personally popular, but he is restrained by public opinion and voting behavior. Two-thirds of the public tell pollsters that they prefer Congress, not Reagan, to make major policy decisions. People like the President, but they want to be protected from his extremism, especially with regard to the welfare state.

The idea of an expanded and reformed welfare state provides an alternative to the vision of Coolie America. Moreover, the strengthening of social programs is vital to making the United States competitive in the world economy. The automobile industry, for example, would fare much better in international trade if a system of national health insurance took over many of the costs of the expensive medical benefits that car makers now provide their employees. And if the introduction of national health insurance led to a genuine restructuring of the medical care system, so that health-provider costs were curbed, the savings to society would be even greater. The growing female labor force would be more productive if the availability of child care made it easier to balance the demands of work and family life. Furthermore, improved provisions for economic security and access to education for people of all ages are indispensable to the creation of the kind of flexible labor force that is needed for high-technology production. Coolie America squanders the country's major asset—a top quality labor force that can master the most advanced technologies. Not the gutting of the public sector but its enlargement is required to face the new competition successfully.

A strategy of welfare-state reform and expansion would also allow the left to campaign on behalf of the nonworking poor, who need public assistance, and the swelling ranks of the working poor. It would spare us from having to take the untenable position of promising suffering people some relief in the sweet by-and-by when full employment comes, and would enable us to start fighting for benefits now. Can America afford an expanded welfare state? Yes, if we take two critical steps to escape the present artificial budget crunch: reclaim the tax revenues that were given away to the rich and the corporations in 1981, and cut absurdly high military spending.

The greatest advantage of a leftist campaign to defend and broaden income and service programs is that the goal can be readily translated into local action by existing local groups against visible targets. Too often people on the left seem to believe that if we think hard, hit on the right program and then proclaim it loudly, a progressive movement will emerge. To build popular struggles over time, a program must be capable of generating specific demands for which people can mobilize again and again in thousands of communities.

The program has to be associated with particular targets to which people have access. That is why opposition to apartheid did not inspire much activity until it focused on divestment by identifiable institutions. In contrast, the record of the full-employment goal has been dismal. Even when public opinion was firmly on the side of state intervention to guarantee full employment, in the 1940s and 1970s, the left and liberal emphasis on full employment produced only the Employment Act of 1946 and the Humphrey-Hawkins bill of 1976. There has never been a popular movement for full employment because popular movements cannot be organized around distant legislative initiatives.

However, there is a real potential for creating powerful needs-based coalitions at the grass roots that unite many constituencies around a common agenda for reform and expansion of social programs. Millions of people have come to rely directly on welfare-state programs, whether for services or benefits, and whether as recipients or as employees. The numbers are larger still when those who use the programs episodically, to tide them over periods of unemployment or hardship, are included. All of those people are potential allies of workers, whose ability to defend wages or working conditions against employer assaults is strengthened by welfare-state programs. In the past few years a number of local and regional women's organizations have emerged to fight cuts in social spending at the state level and to develop their own agendas for the expansion of the welfare state.

Of course, local mobilizations are not enough. Significant reform would still depend on action in Washington. But the struggle for expanded public-sector spending can be fought out at every level of the political system. One can easily imagine a scenario in which state and local officials under pressure from popular movements at home would become the major lobbyists for Federal action to make more resources available to meet social needs. This is already happening, albeit defensively. State and local officials were among the major opponents of Reagan's proposed cuts in social spending. Faced with stepped up local protest, they might well be goaded to take the offensive.

In the longer run, the strategy of defending, reforming and expanding the welfare state can contribute to a revitalization of democratic politics. A decent and nondemeaning system of income support would give working people greater security and therefore greater leverage in their battles against corporate power. Just as Social Security has contributed to the mobilization of the elderly as a powerful constituency in American politics, so a comprehensive system of income security could facilitate the mobilization of other groups with little market power. The provision of a

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wide range of social services at the local level could also invigorate local communities and enrich the possibilities of collective life. All in all, while a society organized around full employment would be an improvement, it would still be one in which the uses of human labor are dictated by capital. A society organized around a generous allocation of public goods to meet human needs is consistent with our most radical visions of the good society. □

The Lynching

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

black, was Vinson Harris, 31, on his way to Lewisburg penitentiary to begin serving a twenty-year term for bank robbery.

As usual the bus arrived at the county jail early in the morning. The prisoners had been brought down from the tanks to a row of holding cells. One by one, they were taken from a holding cell to another, around the corner. After they stripped, they were skin-searched and given white jumpsuits without pockets. When dressed, each was put in leg-irons, waist-chains and handcuffs. A couple, including Harris, were additionally fitted with a device called the black box. Brought into use less than a decade ago, the black box fits over wrists and handcuffs to keep the prisoner from tampering with the latter. It is painful to wear. The prisoner must arch his whole body and stay rigid to keep the steel from cutting into his wrists. After a few hours many prisoners' hands swell enormously.

During the search procedure Harris became the focus of Lieutenant Dale's hostility. The other prisoners could not see what was happening, but when Harris came back, he was wearing the black box and complaining that his leg-irons were too tight. The lieutenant said Harris was lucky they weren't tighter, since Harris had tried to hit him with a shoe. (I cannot believe Harris tried to hit Dale with a shoe. If he had, there would have been no threat of "next time." The guards would have kicked his ass straight away, as is routine procedure in every jail or prison in America.) If Harris gave them any shit, Dale said, he would be in serious trouble. Harris, whose back was to the gate, made a face indicating that he didn't know what the lieutenant was talking about. According to other inmates, Harris, despite a lengthy record and the serious offense, was not loud or hostile to other inmates or guards. He is reported to have been congenial and soft-spoken.

Once in the bus, Harris was ordered to sit in the first seat inside the wire partition, the seat closest to the guards and under the greatest scrutiny. Two guards ride in front, one driving and one watching the prisoners. On this day the extra lieutenant also rode in front. The other guard was stationed in a cage at the rear, next to the inmates' toilet, which is under his direct observation.

Edward Bunker, who was in prison on and off for twenty years, is the author, most recently, of the screenplay for Runaway Train.

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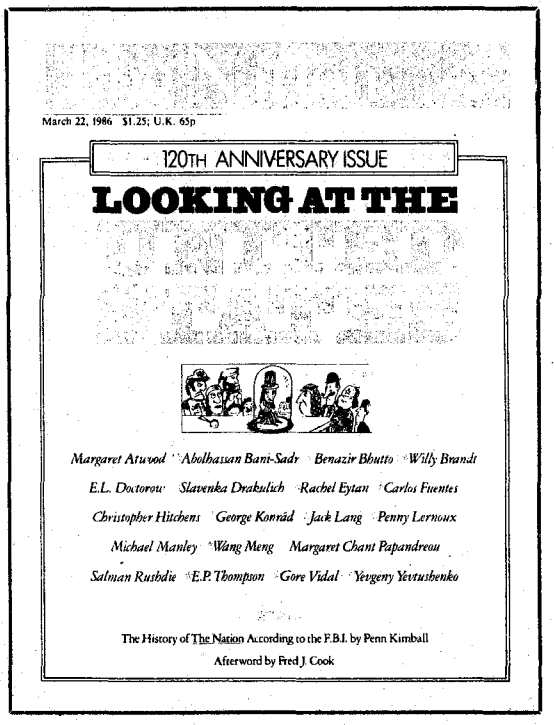
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An hour into the 120-mile journey to Butner, Harris got up and began clanking down the aisle toward the toilet. Lieutenant Dale stopped him. "Harris, sit your ass back down," he said.

"I'm going to take a piss."

"Siddown. Right now."

"I can't take a piss?"

"You don't move an inch unless I tell you."

"Nobody else has to ask to use the toilet."

"Shut up. Siddown. I don't want another word out of you or I'm gonna tape your mouth shut." The lieutenant was popping a strip of duct tape, and his manner was agitated and threatening. When Harris opened his mouth, Dale said, "Not one word. Nothing." Harris went back to his seat. Then he asked, "Can I take a piss?"

"Stop the bus," the lieutenant yelled.

The driver pulled over. The gate was unlocked and Dale and one of the guards entered and dragged Harris to the rear. The lieutenant climbed over the backs of the seats while jerking Harris along the aisle. From the rear came the sound of blows and curses. Finally Harris was brought back, chained to the seat and silenced with a strip of tape across his mouth.

That was how Harris arrived at Butner, which was called a new kind of therapeutic prison when it opened a decade ago. It was supposed to use the latest techniques to help mentally disturbed criminals. The three prisoners designated for Butner were taken off the bus and brought in for processing. Eight prisoners, my friend the only white, waited on the bus until the bureaucratic paper shuffling was completed.

From inside the prison, Lieutenant Dale obtained some rolls of Ace bandage. Then the fun really began. He and the two guards came back to the bus and began wrapping the bandage around Harris's head—first under his chin and up, then around his face, eyes and ears, leaving a tiny space for his nostrils. The bandage was also wrapped around his body, pinning his already shackled hands to his body. It was a great joke. Prison personnel who came out to peer in the window laughed. Lieutenant Dale was proud of himself. He showed off his handiwork to a couple of female guards: how to make a mummy of a nigger.

Harris began to shake and moan. A physician's assistant from the prison hospital was called. He ran his finger under the bandage at Harris's neck and announced: "Ain't nothin' wrong with him. He's hyperventilating himself."

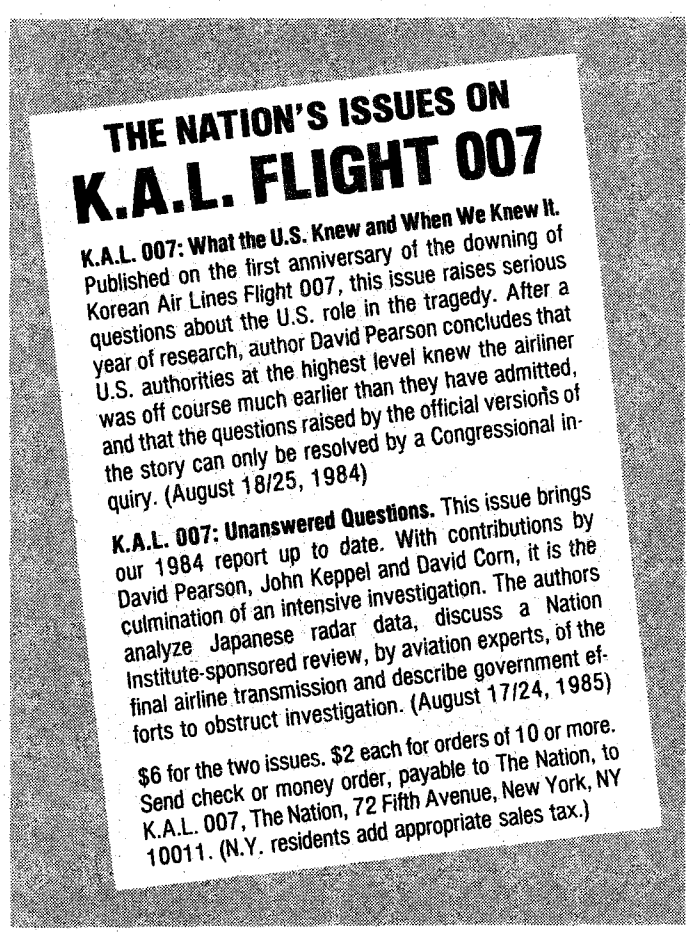
The comedy of torture continued, Lieutenant Dale bringing people onto the bus to see how to shut up a loudmouth. Harris was convulsing, his hands pinned by cuffs and bandage, his mouth sealed with tape. He went rigid, then collapsed in the corner, his head against the window frame. The spectators poked him a few times, still laughing, but worry was in their eyes. When the bandage was taken off, one of them said: "He's not out. His eyes would roll back if he passed out."

The prison doctor appeared. He ordered Dale and the others to drag Harris outside. Harris was laid on the ground and the bandage cut away. The doctor looked at Harris's eyes, felt his throat for a pulse—and was galvanized. Someone came running with a device used to electrically stimulate the heart. The body jerked, but there was no heartbeat. Adrenalin was injected with a long needle, but Harris did not revive.

The prisoners on the bus began to jeer. My friend told them to shut up, to remember all they had seen and to make notes that night for future reference. They were six young blacks, who would by nightfall be scattered in various jails and prisons.

As the first pricklings of worry grew into horrible realization, Dale tried to talk to his pals, to justify and explain, but they shied away from him, as though fearful of being tainted. He broke into tears of self-pity when one turned away and continued to cry as the others kept up the futile cardiopulmonary resuscitation. It went on for a long time, until the outside paramedics arrived with the ambulance. Harris was pronounced dead shortly after 5 that afternoon.

On March 8 the North Carolina assistant chief medical examiner determined that Vinson Harris had died of asphyxiation. Harris was a "very healthy young man" at the time of his death, the doctor said. He also found abrasions on the wrists where the handcuffs had been, indentations on the ankles from the leg-irons, and four lacerations over the inside upper lip that were "compatible with some sort of blow to the mouth." Prison officials told Harris's family that he had been in a disturbance on the bus and that after it was quelled, he was handcuffed and gagged with a bandage. When the bus reached the prison someone discovered that he was having trouble breathing. He subsequently died.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The six blacks in their new lockups have their own troubles. Without connections they must be worried about what will happen if they are called to testify. Will they get into a witness protection program? Fat chance, Charlie. On the other hand, the guards and prison personnel sympathetic to Lieutenant Dale will have plenty of time to patch their stories until they are leakproof, although they may have a hard time suppressing the truth this time.

I can imagine the black men's mute rage as they sat in their chains and watched. What they saw probably shocked them less than it does the average reader of this magazine. In the cage and the ghetto one quickly becomes acclimated to lethal violence. If you have been in and out of prison since the age of 16, as Harris was, you learn at an early age that power makes right and killing doesn't shake the heavens or necessarily bring retribution or the wrath of God. When I was 13 and in juvenile hall I saw a counselor twist a towel around the throat of a boy who was breaking windows in a fit. It's a terrifying experience; I know because I've been through it. The towel cuts off the flow of blood through the carotid artery, and the victim passes out in seconds. That time the counselor twisted it a mite too long and the boy died. Nothing happened to the counselor. I think he took a few days off to rest after the inquiry. When I came back to juvenile hall a few months later the man was still employed, though at a different post. I've seen several similar killings in the decades since then.

The six black prisoners received a fresh injection of hatred. Helpless in their chains, outcasts in America, they were silent in their rage. But they will not always be locked away. Sometime in the future a store owner may suffer, or an old lady. How can you sow hemlock and expect to reap wheat? Harris himself is a perfect example. When he was 16 he was given a six-year sentence for taking a nickel from a 13-year-old at knifepoint. The judge said he would get an education and learn a trade. That was ignorance personified. Sending a 16-year-old to a reformatory to become a decent citizen is like sending someone to a monastery to turn out a rabbi. A few will straighten out their lives afterward in spite of it, but many will lose the fear of the cage that restrains most of us. They may learn to read, but they will certainly find the will to commit more crimes.

No matter how I hold Harris's death to the light, the racism stands out. It seems unusual that so much ferocity was unleashed with so little provocation. It was Lieutenant Dale's last trip. Is that significant? Had Harris mouthed off about "pigs" and "motherfuckers" during the shakedown at the jail? I don't know if that was his nature, but a "murder mouth" is a common survival trait in the urban ghetto, and sometimes in prison. I can imagine a scenario in which Harris, angry and bitter to the core, could have reviled Lieutenant Dale. But Harris was in chains, incapable of a disturbance justifying duct tape, which tears off skin when it is removed, or for the Ace bandages around his head and body. That kind of treatment instills hatred that washes back through our cities in violent black crime. Lieutenant Dale is society's surrogate, white America's representative, and society loses its moral platform when it allows such cruelty. The social contract must work two ways; otherwise it is tyranny.

Postscript. Nine weeks have passed since Vinson Harris's murder, and although *The News and Observer* in Raleigh finally reported most of the story, it wasn't because of a sudden burst of candor by prison officials. Lieutenant Dale has been suspended but not indicted. A grand jury is looking into the incident.

In prison I've celled with black convicts, and I've been busted with black thieves. I've also been in race riots and seen men stabbed to death for racial slurs. I saw a riot start over a Shell Oil commercial that showed a white car getting more miles to the gallon than a black one. I heard black prisoners cheer a movie in which whites were enslaved by apes. This is the madness we have come to.

After I delivered this story to *The Nation,* I walked through Greenwich Village. On Seventh Avenue, without warning, a figure loomed up, grabbed my $600 leather jacket and shouted, "I—am—your—enemy!" pressing his fist into my chest with each word. He was no psychotic. He was a black kid, thirty years younger and twenty pounds heavier than I. He had picked a 50-year-old white man to vent his anger on. I see a connection between his attitude and the lynching on that bus and the malignancy of black street crime, which victimizes blacks as much as it does whites.

White racism should be decried, but black paranoia must also be examined in the cold light of reason. It exacerbates the racism, while brutality like the lynching of Harris feeds the paranoia, and the line between reality and delusion becomes very faint indeed. □

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Politics From A Different Position

PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST
Part V — Is There Balm In Gilead?

Most of us in America look with disbelief at the behavior of our European "allies" as it relates to the wave of terror we have been experiencing throughout the world. We should not be surprised at all. Have we forgotten our history? We should have expected it. Was it not England, Germany, France who gave us World Wars I and II? So as to refresh our memories, let us turn our attention to the years beginning with the Thirties. Germany bestowed upon us Adolph Hitler. England and France endowed us with a new philosophy of government known as appeasement.

When Hitler marched into the Rhineland, did England and France act? No! They said, let us not be too hasty; let us not rush into things; let us negotiate. Hitler said that all he wanted was the Saar and after getting it said he had no further quarrel with France. The French government believed him. So why attempt now to stir things up. He is remilitarizing the Rhineland only to protect his *Vaterland.* When Hitler took Austria, England and France were preparing for peace in our time. Let us not answer violence with violence. We may kill innocent people. When Hitler was massing his troops to attack Czechoslovakia, England and France told the Czechs to surrender. And do you remember what happened then? England and France signed a treaty with Hitler. Remember? Mr. Chamberlain, the umbrella man, called it "peace in our time."

Everybody who was anybody knew what Hitler's goals were. Why did not England and France act at the time when action was called for? For the same reasons they are not acting now.

England, France, and Germany are old civilizations. They have been around for at least a thousand years. We, of course, are newcomers into the community of the civilized. They are the nations who are full of experience about matters of terror, matters of negotiation, matters of civilized behavior. They don't kill innocent people. Their land, the continent of Europe, has been a land of peace and tranquillity for at least a thousand years. They are great diplomats and negotiators. We, on the other hand, are a violent people. We rush to kill at the drop of a hat. Look at our television programs. Look at our motion pictures. That would explain why our borders with Canada and Mexico are military fortresses of the magnitude of Maginot lines. So who are we, the youngsters, to tell those civilized oldsters how to behave in matters political? Imagine, we want them to do what we do! How presumptuous! How insulting!

Then there are the philosophers, the social and political ones, the believers in non-violence, the Gandhis, the Martin Luther Kings.

Is violence, then, the answer? Is non-violence the answer? Both are the answer.

Jomo (Burning Spear) Kenyatta was a Kikuyu herdboy who became president of the independent Republic of Kenya. Before Kenya became independent she was governed by the British. Before Kenyatta became president he was the leader of the Mau Mau, one of the most outrageous killer-runner movements of our time. Mohandas Gandhi, on the other hand, was opposed to acts of violence. He believed in non-violent resistance. Both succeeded in achieving their goals. Did they succeed because of the methods they used? Not exactly. History was on their side. After World War II a wave of self-determination of peoples was sweeping around the world. The peoples of Africa, the Middle East, and elsewhere were getting tired of being ruled by the Europeans and so by agreements or by *coup d'etats* established their own governments. Of course, none of the occurrences evolved peacefully. But the most complex and still unresolved problem was that which involved that small piece of land called Palestine.

Why? It was the only piece of land which housed the world's three major religions. More than a hundred years ago, when that land was under the Ottoman rule, Palestine had about 300,000 Moslems, 40,000 Christians, and 20,000 Jews. But the Jews were the only ones who were integrated as a culture, living as one people. The first Hebrew periodical *Halevanon* was published in 1863. There was no Christian periodical because the Christians were of many different nationalities, and the Moslems were nomads.

The Palestinian Arabs say they want a homeland. All homogenous people should have a homeland. So should the Palestinians. Toward achieving that objective, the UN on November 29, 1947 voted 33 to 13 with 10 abstentions to partition Palestine into two independent states, Jewish and Arab. The Palestinians and their Arab neighbors did not accept the rule of the majority of nations. They, instead, began a reign of terror, beginning with the day after the UN vote. So began the first Israeli Arab war. And the Arabs were trounced. Did the Arabs sue for

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peace as all civilized people do after a defeat in a war? No way! They continued a hit-and-run reign of terror until they were able to prepare for another major attack. This they did and again were defeated. Did they then talk peace? No, they tried a major attack again. This time they were saved by the United States. The Israelis were already near Cairo when our government told them to pull back. We were afraid that the Arab ego would be hurt.

Now the Arabs are complaining that we show more favoritism to the Israelis. We should be more even handed, they say. We give the Israelis more help, more money than we give them. Why should we give them anything? What are they doing to deserve any help from us? Are they really our friends? Israel is the only democracy in the Middle East. Israel is our only true ally. We may not like some of the things she sometimes does. Friends don't always agree. We may not especially understand why she sells arms to Iran. Iran is an enemy. We help the Iraqis. Are the Iraqis our friends? Perhaps the Israelis see things we don't. And when they tell us we don't agree.

We consider Iranians our enemy because of what they did during the Carter administration. Who forced the Shah on them? Can you imagine the world's greatest democracy forcing a dictatorial monarch on a people? Did Iran attack Iraq or did Iraq attack Iran when that country was in turmoil? Iran is dangerous but not as dangerous as Iraq. Iran is a theocracy and as a theocracy carries on a campaign of terror as befits theocracies. If you don't accept my religion, off with your head. Iranians can carry on kill and run terrorists' acts and that is as far as they can go. Iraq, on the other hand, is ruled by an absolute dictator with ambition. Ambitious military dictators are more dangerous than pathogenic religious leaders. So perhaps, then, the Israelis are more worried about Iraq than about Iran. Neither Iraq nor Iran can hurt us as a nation, but Iraq can do more to hurt Israel than can Iran. Iraq is the only Middle East country that has not even signed a cease-fire agreement with Israel. She is in a perpetual state of war and has openly declared that one of its goals is to wipe the state of Israel off the map. So while we sell arms to Iraq we should understand why the Israelis sell arms to Iran.

Sex From A Different Position

CYRUS BASS

If you find **POLITICS FROM A DIFFERENT POSITION** interesting, you will find **SEX FROM A DIFFERENT POSITION** more interesting.

SEX FROM A DIFFERENT POSITION by Cyrus Bass is a most unusual book unique in publishing history. The title is eisegetical. It immediately makes one think of pornography. But the book is everything *except* that. The book is about sex but it is not a sex book by any means. It is a book about human life: the way we think, the way we behave, the way we love and hate, the way we build and destroy and it explains the whys – the whys we love, hate, kill, have wars. The explanations are different from what has been written about human behavior by others. Why then the title? The author wants to demonstrate that when we hear the word sex immediately most of us think of the physical act. But the book is not about sex in the physical sense. The book is literally about sex from a different position.

The author, a practicing clinical psychologist for many years, charts an orientation on how to live in health and happiness which is fundamentally different from what we have been led to believe about sickness and health. His theories about illness in general and about cancer and schizophrenia in particular, if proven to be correct, may well revolutionize the practice of medicine. Dr. Bass is not an eclectic, not a traditionalist. The book is not a compendium of what experts say. There are no footnotes. His writing on medicine, psychology, religion, politics, law, must be read.

The adjacent article which is *not* part of the book illustrates the style and scope of his writings.

We urge you to order SEX FROM A DIFFERENT POSITION without delay. The book is a large (8½ x 11), soft cover volume of 310 pages, set in ITC Bookman type which is especially easy on the eyes, but the text is most challenging to the mind. The author chose the type style. In addition to being a clinical psychologist, he is also an eye doctor as well as a specialist in forensic and antitrust law, having received his law degree in 1957. The price of the book is $11.00, plus $1.50 postage and handling for each copy.

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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

Mobilizing Communities

HARRY C. BOYTE

ORGANIZING THE MOVEMENT: The Roots and Growth of ACORN. *By Gary Delgado. Temple University Press. 269 pp. $24.95.*

In the summer of 1874, activists in the Russian student movement put aside plans for professional careers to organize among the peasantry. Their "Go to the People" campaign seemed, as one participant described it, "not a political movement; it rather resembled a religious movement" fired with a vision of moral perfection. Moral perfection was not achieved, but the efforts of those youthful organizers eventually resulted in Russian populism, a force that shook the world.

One hundred years later in the United States thousands of movement veterans from the 1960s could be found organizing "among the people." Their labors in communities across the country remained largely invisible to a mass media enamored of the notion that the Sixties had given way to the Big Chill. But those organizers were motivated not so much by the desire for immediate public visibility as by the hope that local efforts would eventually add up. *Organizing the Movement: The Roots and Growth of* ACORN, like other recent books—Robert Fisher's *Let the People Decide: The History of Neighborhood Organizing in America* and Mark Kann's *Middle Class Radicalism in Santa Monica*—testifies to the ways grassroots projects have begun to succeed.

By 1980, it looked as if the theme of community was no more than the plaything of reactionary politicians. The Republican platform lauded neighborhoods as "arenas for civic action and creative self-help." Well into his presidency, Ronald Reagan professed to believe that "a renaissance of the American community, a rebirth of the neighborhood, is the heart and soul of rebuilding America." This sort of sham populist rhetoric is part of an old American tradition extending from the Know-nothings and nativist societies of the nineteenth century to twentieth-century Southern demagogues and the neighborhood protection associations of 1950s suburbia. But it was also, in part, a response to the revival of a progressive populist ferment, and it represented only one strand of thought and action about the meaning of community in America.

Beginning in the early 1970s, a new generation of community groups emerged seeking to link the concerns of constituencies activated in the 1960s—the poor, minorities, environmentalists and others—with a spreading discontent among "middle Americans," who had often been opposed to the radicalism of that time. Organizations like the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN); the National People's Action, a coalition of neighborhood groups; the state and local affiliates of groups like Citizen Action and the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition; and the strong local groups affiliated with the Industrial Areas Foundation were the result. Such groups, inheritors of the tradition of progressive populism, have a very different understanding of community from those "populists" of the right. In their version, neighborhood and community (ideas that overlap, but are also distinguishable) are seen as foundations for democratic action. They are arenas in which diverse racial and income groups can make common cause and challenge heretofore unresponsive centers of wealth and power. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the new progressive populism has fiercely competed with the New Right for the allegiance of hard hats and small-business owners, family farmers and churchgoers, Eastern European ethnics, white-collar workers and middle-income professionals.

ACORN represented an early experiment in populist alliance-building in the Deep South. Gary Delgado, a prominent black organizer and current director of the Center for Third World Organizing, is unusually adept at organizing and knowledgeable about political theory. He is also uniquely suited to explore ACORN's growth, development, problems and possibilities. Delgado appeared on the scene in Little Rock, Arkansas, shortly after the arrival of ACORN's first organizer, Wade Rathke, in 1970, and he has been connected with the organization ever since. ACORN has steadily grown, first in Arkansas, then, in a period of rapid expansion, in two dozen other states, although its attempt to affect the national political parties before the 1980 elections was largely unsuccessful.

Not surprisingly, Delgado is sympathetic to ACORN's efforts. He describes the strategic discussions in the National Welfare Rights Organization that led George Wiley and others to conclude that poor people needed new allies among the working and middle classes in the 1970s. He describes ACORN's steady growth in Arkansas—from its initial base among the poor to its successful recruitment of lower-income homeowners, factory workers and farmers of both races. "Arkansas clearly did not have a history of liberal politics," writes Delgado, noting the state's antiunion reputation and Little Rock's dubious status as a symbol of massive resistance to desegregation in 1957. It did have, however, a substantial majority of low- and moderate-income people who shared a number of specific problems—housing, health care, taxes, jobs, utility rates. Beyond this, ACORN had a central theme and mission described in an early position paper:

> Unless your organization addresses the question of who has the power . . . and who *should* have the power . . . then all your organization will achieve is a proliferation of stop lights. ACORN's goal is much more.

Mobilizing communities around bread-and-butter issues and linking these with the broader language of power has been the key to success for groups like ACORN. Moreover ACORN has traditionally focused considerable attention and energy on organizing the very poor, the people many progressive community groups have tended to slight in pursuit of more stable blue-collar and white-collar constituencies. Nor has ACORN shied away from nonviolent civil disobedience; it recently coordinated a series of squatters campaigns in abandoned

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Harry C. Boyte is the author of The Backyard Revolution *(Temple University Press),* Community Is Possible *(Harper & Row) and* Free Spaces: The Sources of Democratic Change in America, *with Sara M. Evans (Harper & Row).*

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buildings across the country, demanding that housing be made available to the poor. The organization has also developed a strong interracial base—today, 60 percent of the 60,000 or so active members are black and Hispanic. Its techniques are characterized by an abundance of imagination: it has experimented with the use of radio stations and with a national history tour on American social movements, "This Mighty Dream," to help along organizing efforts among domestic workers and fast-food-chain employees. But the "ACORN model" also has serious problems.

Delgado recognizes many of them. He readily admits the tendency of white, college-educated staff members to dominate decision making. He acknowledges ACORN's difficulties in working with other groups—it is frequently criticized for a sectarian approach in the community organizing world. Finally, he discusses the vagueness of ACORN's brand of populist ideology, especially in his treatment of its effort to develop a national political program for the 1980 election. "Like many populist organizations," he writes, "ACORN had opted to preserve class unity by developing an anticorporate political program that did not directly address salient issues of race and sex. Moreover, the platform demonstrated . . . an ambivalence between anticorporate populism and the social-democratic state."

Yet Delgado tends to accept the conventional left wisdom about what a "progressive" development for the organization should be. He therefore seems to lean toward a cosmopolitan left-wing point of view that glosses over local differences and relies increasingly on state intervention. Delgado's perspective on these matters is common among community organizers with roots in 1960s politics. But it frequently creates a distance between staff and participants in citizen groups that is more subtle than differences in race and class but equally problematic. Organizers tend to treat "the people" less as actors on their own behalf than as masses to be mobilized.

Delgado's book itself shares this tendency. Thus, he slights the views and stories of members in favor of extensive discussions of organizational strategy. In this, Delgado reflects the approach intrinsic to ACORN's model of organizing. ACORN organizers self-consciously avoid having anything to do with the existing institutional fabric of communities: the local churches or synagogues, block clubs, voluntary groups and other networks that predate the organizers' arrival.

Such an approach has certain advantages. ACORN's leaders are often people who have not been active in community life before. The organization can offer a remarkable education in public skills as well as knowledge about the world. And the relative detachment of the organization from deep community roots has undoubtedly facilitated its national campaigns and experimental style. But ACORN chapters have lacked the depth, scale of involvement and staying power of those community networks that build more self-consciously on community institutions. Moreover, ACORN chapters have done little to open up and revitalize such institutions. By contrast, Communities Organized for Public Service in San Antonio has transformed the parishes of the Mexican barrios into vitally active public arenas over the last decade. In networks like Citizen Action and the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition, the direct involvement of union locals, churches, neighborhood organizations and women's groups has at times created a remarkable new terrain for joint work and discussion, and in the process begun to revitalize the labor movement.

With all their various differences in approach and constituency, however, today's progressive organizing efforts can be seen as manifestations of a newly emerging social force that has begun to ask questions about the shape of power and the meaning of democracy in modern societies. Indeed, differences in ideology and method should be understood as healthy and inevitable features of any movement in a country as diverse as America. We now need a broader public vocabulary to illustrate the commonality of themes and concerns among different organizing networks. The Farmers Alliances of a hundred years ago, the Congress of Industrial Organizations in the 1930s, the Leadership Council on Civil Rights in the 1960s, all represented successful efforts to bridge differences for the sake of broader goals.

Whatever forms "movement" organizations of the 1980s and 1990s take, the sort of argument Delgado advances for a new level of cooperation and dialogue

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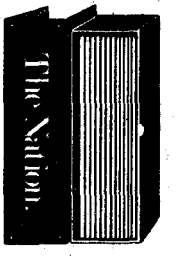

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will be crucial to their success. "Community organizations are at a pivotal point in their history," he concludes. "The *real* question is not whether they will survive, but whether they will . . . grow beyond a group of organizations waiting for a movement into a progressive movement for social justice." He is right. The answers will affect the future of us all. □

Grass-Roots History

MICHAEL KAZIN

FREE SPACES: The Sources of Democratic Change in America. *Sara M. Evans and Harry C. Boyte. Harper & Row. 228 pp. $16.95.*

Over the last decade, Harry Boyte has become the Johnny Appleseed of the "new populism." A civil rights activist's son from North Carolina, he hit the road in the early 1960s to learn about the community organizing projects planted by Saul Alinsky and his disciples. From his travels Boyte has developed a point of view and a commitment that has proved both insightful and unbending.

As Boyte sees it, the upsurge of the right has diverted attention from a revival of grass-roots democracy that has been occurring in places as diverse as a St. Louis public housing project, a San Antonio barrio and a white ethnic neighborhood in St. Paul. Boyte has expressed his faith in these projects in two previous books (*The Backyard Revolution* and *Community Is Possible*). *Free Spaces*, written with his wife, Sara Evans, a professor of history at the University of Minnesota, extends the message back into the nation's past. Like the earlier volumes this one lauds the progress and potential of "ordinary people" when they "discover who they are and take democratic initiatives, on their own terms."

Boyte and Evans believe fervently in the ability of popular movements to make history. They explain that powerless Americans have organized themselves to win political rights and economic advances in the past, and they demonstrate that even in the darkest night of Reaganism, it can happen again. They argue passionately for participation grounded in communities and for a reinvigorated sense of citizenship.

The major social movements in U.S. history furnish evidence for the correctness of their views. They include two chapters on black liberation from the days of slavery to SNCC, one on feminism from the Enlightenment to NOW, another on labor's Sisyphean struggle for workplace democracy and a final one on the Populists of the late nineteenth century. They skillfully mine anecdotes and quotations from the best of recent scholarship in order to assemble a gallery of activists who drew on traditional ideas and institutions to foster protest and change. As a brief, popularly written synopsis of social movement history, the book is excellent and unique.

But the concept of free space that runs in and out of the narrative never seems entirely essential to the book's purpose. Evans and Boyte argue that black churches, female reform societies, visionary unions like the Knights of Labor and agricultural cooperatives constituted "settings between private lives and large-scale institutions" where people could talk over their ideals and grievances and learn how to build a movement. Deprived of such autonomous environments, groups could not find a common voice and were easily manipulated, as in the Southern textile mill villages where the employer owned everything in town, including schools and churches. Such total control or absence of free space made labor unions an impossibility.

However true this is, the availability or absence of free space can explain only a little about the origins and growth of a movement. Changes in ideology and material conditions are more telling. For example, those Piedmont mill towns were all-white showplaces of the New South's belated industrial revolution. When they were established in the 1880s, textile workers welcomed the opportunity to exchange the insecurity of subsistence farming for a new life of steady wages and a bit of formal education. But by the 1920s, speedups and abysmal pay had fostered a new, rebellious attitude in the mills. Some members of the second generation did go on strike and their grievances inspired working-class preachers to lambaste the companies for sins against the poor.

Movements do, of course, need room to organize, but the strategy and messages emanating from their "spaces" are more critical to understanding their success. Twenty-five years ago in the South, White Citizens Councils defended segregation from *their* free spaces inside fraternal lodges and city halls; at the same time civil rights workers mobilized for justice within thousands of black churches. The latter won because in addition to stating their case eloquently, they filled the streets with nonviolent protesters and pricked the conscience of the white public. The autonomous black church had been around since Emancipation but it had never pushed itself into the world that way before.

Evans and Boyte seem to realize the analytical limits of their title and thus put more emphasis on the idea that social movements derive their meaning and strength from communal bonds and an appreciation of the past. That's hard to disagree with, and the references to female abolitionists who quoted scripture and C.I.O. locals that sprang from Irish and Slavic lodge and tavern networks add historical specificity to common sense. They are also right to chastise those Marxists who view popular traditions as so much baggage that radicals should fling aside in their zeal to create a "new" man and woman.

But the authors do have a notion of "community" that is, in its own way, just as erroneous as the revolutionary's contempt for the past. They write as if the fine moments when blacks, white women, industrial workers and small farmers organized themselves in open and egalitarian ways form the main trend of American history. But all communities begin as exclusive entities, and the leap to a social movement which encompasses diverse groups and speaks for a wider agenda than the self-defense of a particular interest is a difficult one. Social movements in the United States have always aspired to represent the people, but they seldom achieve that goal and are never able to sustain it for long.

Take the Knights of Labor, about

Michael Kazin teaches history at American University. His book Barons of Labor: The San Francisco Building Trades and Union Power in the Progressive Era *will be published in January by the University of Illinois Press.*

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ANNOUNCING:
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Find out for yourself what's going on in Israel and the Occupied Territories. Join The Nation Fact-Finders for a thought-provoking journey to the heart of the Middle East.

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For the past two summers, The Nation Fact-Finders have visited Israel and returned with an enriched understanding of the Arab-Israeli conflict and of Israeli and Palestinian society. Tour participants have met with many Israelis and Palestinians including: Labor Member of Knesset Abba Eban, Likud MK Ehud Olmert, feminist and civil rights activist MK Shulamit Aloni, Director General of the Foreign Ministry David Kimche, Mayor Elias Freij of Bethlehem, deposed Mayor Karim Khalaf of Ramallah, author A.B. Yehoshua, Bir Zeit University, Professor Salim Tamari and researcher Meron Benvenisti. Here's what some veterans of last year's trip had to say afterward:

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whom the authors write, "[Their] organic view of social relations challenged the atomization of factory and city life [and] resulted in an organizing method which built on existing strengths and solidarities in working-class communities." The Knights began in 1869 as a secret association of skilled garment cutters and shoe workers who wanted to stop the machine-driven division of labor which was degrading their trades. Even in their short heyday in the mid-1880s (when membership neared a million), the Knights were plagued by the social schisms of industrializing America. Despite a desire to unify all "producers," the organization excluded Chinese workers. Its Southern locals were formally interracial but, in fact, usually became all-black affairs because whites refused to compromise their supremacist beliefs by joining.

A similar pattern prevailed in the other social movements which Evans and Boyte chronicle. Garrisonian abolitionists considered their Irish-Catholic opponents to be drunken pawns of the Pope; many woman suffragists argued that their votes would offset those of illiterate black men and immigrant laborers; and after his agrarian rebellion failed, Populist leader Tom Watson became one of the most rabid anti-Semites in American history. My point is not to deny the value of these movements or to dismiss their accomplishments. But "community" and "tradition," like other holy words in the American political lexicon—"democracy," "freedom," "equality," etc.—do not call up unambiguous forces that sanctify all they touch. In fact, the battle is often over who will define those words. Richard Viguerie and Jesse Jackson, after all, both style themselves true populists. But one excludes welfare mothers and homosexuals, while the other has recently excluded women from his demands for more blacks on network news.

Toward the end of their book, Evans and Boyte acknowledge the hazards of overpraising the movements they value. "Without attention to the specific features and processes that democratize community life," they warn, "any invocation of communal values is prey to telling criticisms of sentimentality and naïveté." Yet, by portraying historical activists in a relentlessly heroic light, they risk creating just such an image.

Their real achievement is to pose questions that American liberals and leftists should have asked themselves long before the current doldrums set in. How does one build a progressive social movement in a hostile ideological environment? What type of language would appeal to the generous and cooperative elements in American political culture? How can the shibboleth "democracy" be transformed into what the original S.D.S. constitution called "a vision of a society where at all levels the people have control of the decisions which affect them and the resources on which they are dependent"?

Asking such questions helps to break two of the left's worst intellectual habits: the search for a single redemptive movement—whether composed of workers, women, students, blacks or Third World guerrillas—and the obsession with what should have or could have happened in the past. By drawing attention to what actually occurred when people tried to change history, Evans and Boyte help with the hard work of deciding how and where to move now. □

Winning City Hall

DEREK SHEARER

MIDDLE CLASS RADICALISM IN SANTA MONICA. *By Mark E. Kann. Temple University Press. 322 pp. $24.95.*

THE PROGRESSIVE CITY: Planning and Participation, 1969–1984. *By Pierre Clavel. Rutgers University Press. 262 pp. $28. Paper $10.*

In the past decade, a wave of urban populism has swept through many American cities. Thousands of neighborhood groups have been formed to protest living conditions and to try to improve them. This neighborhood-based activism has been well chronicled, notably by Harry Boyte in *The Backyard Revolution* and *Community Is Possible*. In most cases, the new populism has been successful in obtaining concessions from local politicians and business elites, but in only a few cities has it been translated into electoral success.

The cities in which urban populists have come to power are few in number and usually small in size, although they do include two major ones—Chicago, under Mayor Harold Washington, and Boston, under Mayor Ray Flynn. Because the activists involved in such reform efforts rarely have time to write at length about their programs and because press coverage of urban politics tends to be shallow and biased—the local newspaper is frequently an interested party and key political player—it is important to have social scientists at work describing these experiments. Todd Swanstrom turned his Ph.D. thesis on the Kucinich administration in Cleveland into a superb book, *The Crisis of Growth Politics*, and Chester Hartman of the Institute for Policy Studies has chronicled the community struggles around urban renewal in his study, *The Transformation of San Francisco*. Princeton, Temple and North Carolina presses are all publishing books on urban politics and planning in various cities.

Two recent and welcome additions to this literature are Mark Kann's *Middle Class Radicalism in Santa Monica* and Pierre Clavel's *The Progressive City*. Both raise important questions about the possibilities for democratic change in American cities and about the relevance of these "progressive" or "radical" cities to the rest of urban America. Both are relatively free of academic jargon and add to our knowledge of the terrain on which activists struggle for reform, but each work has its limitations, stemming as much from the author's approach as from deficiencies in analysis and reporting.

Mark Kann, a professor of political science at the University of Southern California, uses the election of an insurgent government in Santa Monica, California, in 1981 as the basis for a theoretical discussion of American radicalism. Employing circular reasoning, Kann defines the grass-roots movement in Santa Monica as "middle-class radicalism," which he says is an important development on the American left, and then proceeds to criticize the new administration for being too middle

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class to address the needs of the working class, the poor or minorities. By framing his book in this way, Kann inevitably tries to fit facts to theory, instead of trying to understand the achievements and the limitations of a grass-roots movement in power. He does raise interesting theoretical questions about American radicalism, but they will be of interest mainly to other left-wing political scientists. He has, at least, compiled the most complete, if not completely accurate, account of the Santa Monica experience to date, and a careful reader can draw his or her own conclusions from it.

Pierre Clavel is more down-to-earth. Clavel teaches urban planning at Cornell, where he founded the school's summer program in progressive planning. His book, not surprisingly, focuses on planning practice rather than political theory. Using the case-study approach, Clavel describes planning efforts in Burlington, Vermont, Cleveland, Hartford, Berkeley and Santa Monica—all cities where urban populists have been, or are, in power. He examines how visions of the "good" or the "just" city have been implemented and finds that progressives, as he calls them, followed through on a vision of the city as a place where human needs should have as much influence as buildings, cars and corporate interests. His book should be particularly useful for classes in city planning and urban politics.

Unfortunately, neither Kann nor Clavel has tried to discuss both policy and politics—something one must do if one wants to consider the relevance of a middle-sized city such as Santa Monica to other cities, particularly large ones. As a participant in the Santa Monica reform effort—my wife has served as Mayor and I as a planning commissioner—and as a professor who has studied populist movements in other American cities, I am certain that most of the policies undertaken in "progressive" cities can be transferred to most American cities. These policies include: neighborhood-based planning and city hall support for citizen participation; community-based crime prevention; human-scale and pedestrian-oriented building requirements; rent stabilization and cooperative housing programs; farmers' markets and street fairs; and, particularly, "linked development" in which builders of large commercial projects pay into funds for

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As a founder of the Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies, an informal gathering of progressive activists and politicians, and as a charter member of The Planners Network, a similar organization of city and regional planners, I know that progressive ideas can be passed back and forth among politicians and urban professionals through conferences, newsletters and studies. The hitch comes in transferring the politics of grassroots mobilization from one city to another. The political situation in each city varies greatly, and there is no nationwide mechanism for popularizing programs in the way that the Federal government does when it funds a program and issues national standards for it. The Democratic Party is loosely structured, and government in many cities has been depoliticized and uncoupled from the national party through such "good government" reforms as nonpartisan, odd-year elections and the city manager form of government. This situation is very different from that in Western Europe and Scandinavia, where local politics is more closely integrated with the ideology and organization of the national parties. In addition, racial divisions in the United States play a significant role in determining political outcomes. The issue of busing, for instance, frequently prevents the development of a unified populist approach to urban government, and both the Washington administration in Chicago and the Flynn administration in Boston have been severely constrained by racial problems.

In Santa Monica, our political opponents—a coalition of conservative homeowners, landlords and developers—used racial fears to garner votes by telling middle-class homeowners that "the radicals in city hall" were going to require them to rent their spare rooms to blacks or Latinos. In Santa Monica we had to face the problem of white middle-class ambivalence toward policies that benefit lower income groups, especially minorities, a problem that will reappear in any number of other cities. Our political coalition was most successful when we advocated policies such as rent control, regulating the scale and pace of commercial development, improving community services or implementing community crime prevention—programs which benefited the middle class as well as the working class and minorities.

There are no technical obstacles to implementing a progressive urban agenda in New York, Atlanta, Philadelphia or Houston, and our programs would, I think, enjoy public support, but opposition by conservative elites and real estate–based interests makes winning government power in these and other cities difficult. The only way that I can foresee progressive urban policies coming to most American cities is for a national progressive movement to elect a reform-minded Democratic President—one who is willing to designate funds to finance housing, transit and education policies and who will appoint a progressive Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to spread information about progressive programs across the country. In the meantime, local activists will have to build their own coalitions city by city. In this task, Kann's and Clavel's books should provide enough of both intellectual assistance and moral support to make people believe that with hard work and a little luck you can sometimes win city hall, not just fight it. □

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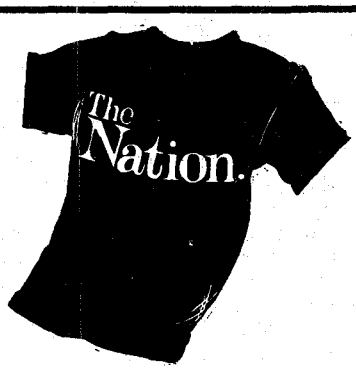

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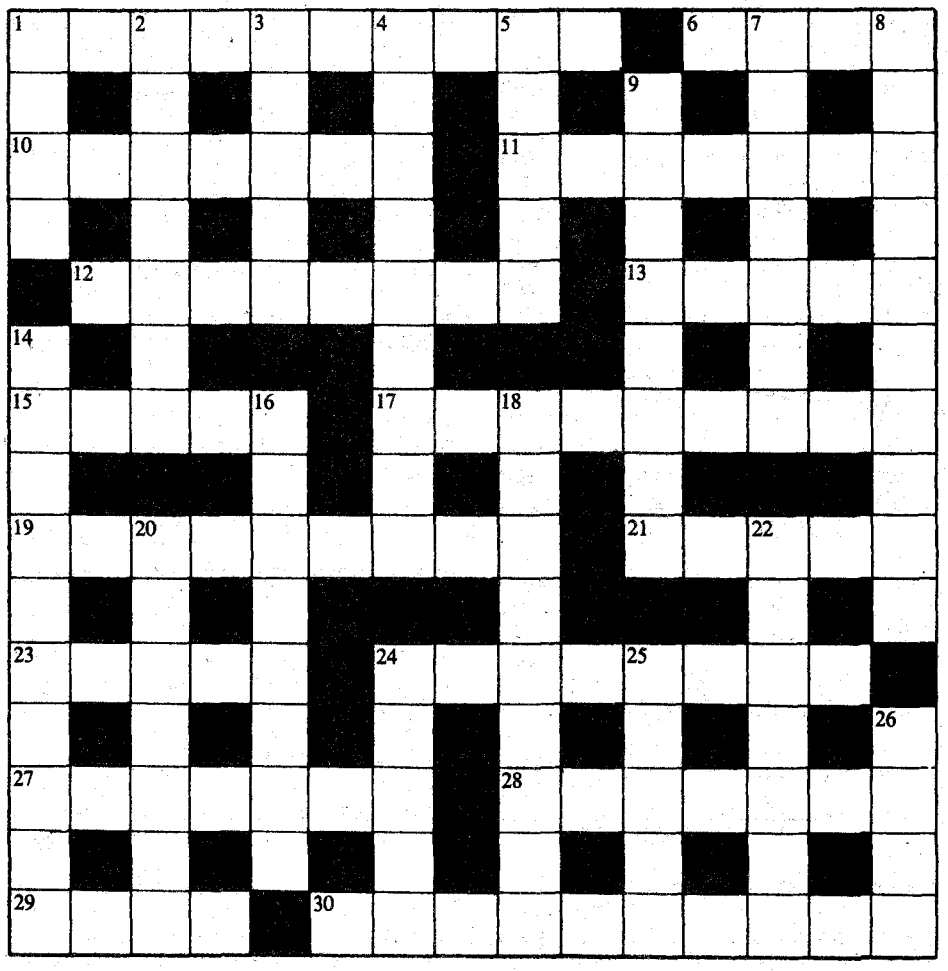

ACROSS

1 and 6 Like the Long Island type—like a literary Tinker—hale and hearty! (2,5,2,1,4)
10 Deciphering it, I can't get big results! (7)
11 Afterwards (before the article) it might identify a treaty. (7)
12 Are these laid indirectly, when being bested is awkward? (4,4)
13 Its "topless towers" weren't B-girls who had pull! (5)
15 Might form a bar in helping others. (5)
17 Does more than one buck get spent here? By implication, does get put out! (4,5)
19 One might be said to be upright—with an occasional attempt to destroy them after victory. (9)
21 Had I Europe in mind, it's "Farewell!" as you can see! (5)
23 A claim against your property made by a foreigner? (5)
24 Most like Robin's men, having to make a mistake in bad times. (8)
27 Near the outbreak, give support. (7)
28 The pictures usually don't show Mr. Jones in such a state! (7)
29 and 30 Pigs might, if they get in the garden, like carrots, etc. (4,10)

DOWN

1 and 14 Might one be responsible for "The Story of Lincoln," or is one's life one's own, necessarily. (14)
2 Place this on the table, otherwise such a one might be broody. (7)
3 A possibly forbidden turn when going to the wrong lane—resulting in broken bones. (5)
4 Irons out the wrinkles, or just makes things smaller? (9)
5 They're possibly under foot when you come in, according to Beverly! (5)
7 11 starts out quite differently, with a near lie reputed to have it. (7)
8 and 26 Didn't they have adequate listening apparatus in the forum, hence such a plea? (4,2,4,4)
9 A bad poet I? Ah, I fancy so—for which the musicians got together. (8)
14 See 1 down
16 The best things to tie above people's heads? (8)
18 Unsure it's a verse? Positive! (9)
20 Does it take a slightly different gait to get the band really going? (7)
22 How to put someone into office, or where to put the dark horse? (7)
24 A disease of domestic animals, and wild game around the North. (5)
25 Place found in 28, but not North America. (5)
26 See 8 down

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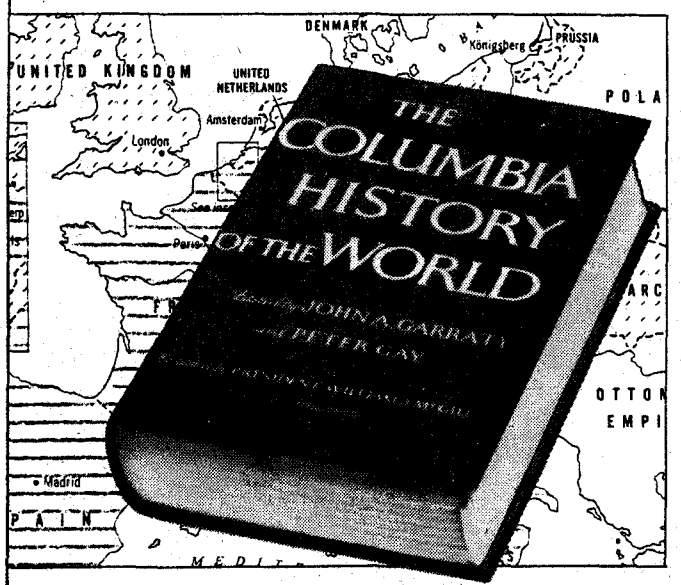

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